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CAREER OF PRINCE SHĀH SHUJĀ

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THESIS FOR D.PHIL. DEGREE IN ARTS (CALCUTTA UNIVER:

RANAJIT KUMAR DAS

شبیه شاه شجاع بهادر و اورنگ زیب بهادر و مراد بخش علی مالخذ

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(Copy of Victoria Albert Museum)

INTRODUCTION

It has been generally the practice of the scholars and historians to study the history of any particular period or of those personalities who somehow came to the lime light by securing political power. But those who, in spite of their undoubted merits, failed somehow to come to the power, have been allowed to be lost in obscurity and none feels inclined to put them in their proper place. The aim of the present work is to review the career of such a character in proper historical perspectives.

During the Turkish rule in India there was no law of inheritance or succession and, as a result, it was the swords alone that decided the issue if there was any succession dispute to the throne. Bābur, the founder of the Mughal rule in India, realised the danger in the system and made a futile attempt to establish the practice of primogeniture. As a result, Humāyūn had to face the rivalry of Kamrān and Mirzā Hindal. Though Humāyūn nominated Akbar as heir apparent, Mirzā Hakīm, after Humāyūn's death, declined to accept this nomination and revolted. Shāhjahān went a step further and even during Jahāngīr's life-time, revolted against him and after the Emperor's death, the throne was the bone of contention before it fell to the lot of Shāhjahān.

This succession rivalry reached the peak among the sons of Shāhjahān. This was because all the four sons of Shāhjahān were fairly aged princes, equally ambitious and were occupying high positions of Subahdārs, strong both in power and wealth. Moreover, the old Emperor's extreme fondness and partiality for the eldest son, Dārā, and Dārā's ill-advised interference in the administration of the other brothers, raised a spirit of revolt in the other brothers. For a long

time all the princes had been secretly preparing for the final showdown and the old Emperor, though he knew everything, failed to bypass the providence, partly because of his doting fondness for Dārā and latterly because of his grave illness during his last years.

In this long continued catastropic war, though prince Shujā ultimately went down before Aurangzeb, Shujā was not inferior to the latter in any way and, as a matter of fact, was much superior in some respects. The second prince is found to possess some sterling qualities which were absent in other princes but which were essential in a ruler. Shujā was the golden mean between Dārā and Aurangzeb and inherited in a large measures the generous and liberal qualities of his grand-father and great grand-father. But in spite of all these, fortune did not smile on him at length and he was lost in the wilderness, unsung and unhonoured.

The career of this prince, in its different aspects, has not yet been studied on the basis of relevant evidences available in different languages. I have made an humble attempt in preparing this monograph on prince Shāh Shujā basing my study on all the original sources available in different languages.

The present work has been divided into ten chapters and each chapter into several sections :

Chapter I deals with the early life of Prince Shujā till he was appointed the Subedār of Bengal. This chapter contains a detailed account of Shujā's birth, incidents and accidents in his boyhood, education, etc.

Chapter II deals with Shujā's marriages and children.

Chapter III deals with Shujā's expedition to Parenda, Qandahār and Trans-Oxiana. Only some casual references have been made by some other writers about Parenda expedition, but in this a detailed discussion has been made based on original Persian sources.

Chapter IV deals with Shujā's activities as the Subedār of Bengal and Orissa. A detailed discussion has been made in this chapter about Shujā's administrative system, revenue reforms, expeditions to Tripura, suppression of the Arakanese and Portuguese pirates, relation with Cooch Bihār, Assam and European traders, etc. and the information is based on original sources.

Chapter V deals with the causes of the war of succession among the princes and the alliance among the three princes against Dārā, Shujā's role in the conspiracy. Much has been told on this topic by Sir J. N. Sarkār and Dr. K. R. Kanungo and the present writer is much indebted to these eminent authorities.

In Chapter VI a detailed discussion has been made about Shujā's revolt against Delhi, his march towards the imperial Capital, war with Sulaimān Shukoh, role of Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh, attitude of Shāhjahān and that of Dārā towards Shujā, Shujā's defeat and retreat towards Bengal, etc. This account is also based on original sources.

Chapter VII deals with Shujā's march for the second time towards the Capital, his aim, encounter with Aurangzeb on the field of Khajwa, Jaswant Singh's role, etc. Sir J. N. Sarkār (Aurangzeb) and Dr. J. N. Sarkār (Mīr Jumla) have discussed the theme mainly from the point of view of Aurangzeb. In this chapter

the story has been sought to be presented from the point of view of Shāh Shujā.

In Chapter VIII the retreat of Shujā from Khajwa to Dācca and his prolonged war with Muhammad Sultān, Mīr Jumla and Dāūd Khān have been dealt with. Sir J. N. Sarkār in his 'Aurangzeb' and Dr. J. N. Sarkār in 'Mīr Jumla' have discussed the war in detail. Here an attempt has been made to discuss Shujā's war with Dāūd Khān, Shujā's plan and strategy, his military leadership, etc., on the basis of original sources.

Chapter IX deals in detail with Shujā's flight to Arakan, his attempt to capture the fort of Bhalua, his reception by the king of Arakan and conflict with the Rājā, his tragic end in mysterious circumstances, the fate of Shujā's family and the rumours about them in India. The fate of Shujā and his family in Arakan is still a debatable subject, yet an attempt has been made to get at the truth based on the original sources.

The concluding Chapter X is an attempt at forming a general estimate of Shujā's character and achievements - as a man, a statesman, a general and a diplomat and the analysis of the reasons for his failure.

The materials have been arranged in a systematic way so as to clearly indicate the landmarks in Shujā's career. For the sake of analysis each chapter has been divided into sections and references and foot-notes have been given for every necessary and controversial point. Several appendices are also added to throw light on some points. Quotations from records have been given in their original form. The present study is mainly based on the following sources :-

(i) Contemporary historical works in Persian published and unpublished;

(ii) Contemporary correspondence in Persian;

(iii) The Ahom Buranjis;

(iv) European records, mainly English and Dutch;

(v) Works of contemporary European writers and travellers;

(vi) Accounts in Bengali and other Indian languages;

(vii) Archaeological, Epigraphical and Numismatical sources and Gazetteers.

Like the Ancient period, the Medieval period of India was not barren of written historical works and, as a result, the students of the Medieval period are not required to grope in the darkness for want of written and authentic raw materials. I think it would not be out of place to make a short review of some of the important sources for a comprehensive study of the subject under review. Various types of sources written in different languages have been scrutinised but the information available is not always uniform, authentic and sufficient for the purpose. Sometimes for want of sufficient authentic information a detailed account cannot be given on all points, such as Shujā's expedition to Kabul and Qandahār and his role in the conspiracy against Dārā. However, I have spared no pains to sift and collect the facts as far as possible and to present the career and achievements of Shujā based on the authentic sources as far as available to me.

Among the various classes of sources mentioned above, contemporary Persian works, published and unpublished, are by far the most important and

sufficiently available. Some of these are in the form of autobiographies, some written by the official historians and the rest are the works of private persons. Jahāngīr in his 'Tuzuk' mentioned in detail the incidents and accidents of his favourite grandson in his childhood and the authenticity of these accounts cannot be disputed. Neither Lāhorī, Qazvīnī nor Wāris, covered the entire period of Shāhjahān's reign; the information given by the last two writers is very brief but genuine. Qazvīnī completed the history of the first ten years and Lāhorī for the first twenty years but for the first ten years Lāhorī's basis was Qazvīnī. Wāris completed the history of last ten years of Shāhjahān's reign. Tāhir's 'Mulakhkhas' is not an original work and he mainly copied from Qazvīnī, Lāhorī and Wāris. Sālih Kambū's 'Amal-i-Sālih' is authentic like the three official historians and it covers the entire reign of Shāhjahān. Though this work was completed in 1659 and subsequently extended up to 1671, strangely enough, it is silent about Shujā's fate in Arakan. Sujān Rāi Khatrī in his 'Khulāsat-ut-Tawārīkh' has furnished some wrong information and stated that in the previous night of the battle of Khajwa Jaswant Singh, with all his Rājpūt troops, joined Shujā. Jaswant Singh, as we know, only proposed to join Shujā during the war with his contingent but when Shujā turned down this proposal, the Rājā ransacked the camp of Muhammad Sultān and marched back with his troops towards the imperial Capital. The 'Ālamgīrnāma' of Mirzā Muhammad Munshi is the official history of Aurangzeb's first ten years. The writer, to placate his patron, always attempted to blacken Shujā and throughout the pages of his work his bias against Shujā is evident and as such no fair justice can be expected from such a pen. But, on the other hand, Masūm in his "Tawārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā" and the Rozbihani writer of "Aurangnāma" have won the esteem of their readers for their impartiality and fair justice to all the actors in the drama.

Masūm neither blindly supported his patron Shujā nor hesitated to censure him. The Rozbihani writer also resisted the temptation of flattering his patron like Mirzā Muhammad Munshi. Moreover, only 'Aurangnama' deals elaborately with Shujā's war with Dāūd Khān after the battle of Khajwa. Tālish in his 'Fathiya-Ibriya' and in its 'continuation' has given graphic details of the ferocity and the activities of the Maghs and the Portuguese pirates in lower Bengal and attacks of Assam and Choch Bihār on Bengal.

The value of the contemporary Persian correspondence between persons of high position is no less important than the works of the historians, official and non-official. "Ruqqaat-i-Hasan", "Jāmīul-Inshā", the "Jaipur records", "Faiyāz-ul-Qawānīn" and "Ruqqaat-i-Ālamgīrī" are the most important and authentic collections of correspondence. Maulana Abul Hasan, the writer of "Ruqqaat-i-Hasan' was the Secretary of the Governors of Orissa from 1655-67 and his letters to different persons, official and non-official, are full of first hand knowledge of the political, social and economic conditions of Orissa and Bengal during that period. Similarly, "Jāmīul-Inshā", "Faiyāz-ul-Qawānīn" and "Ruqqaat-i-Ālamgīrī" are collection of letters written by different persons, from Emperor to any man of position; and these three mainly furnish information about the conspiracy of the three younger princes against Dārā. Likewise, Jaipur records, in Persian and Rājāsthānī languages, are also collection of letters written by Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh to different persons including the Emperor and vice-versa. These records are most reliable, and throw light on various events.

During the reign of Jahāngīr, Shāhjahān and Aurangzeb many European travellers came to India and many European factories were established in different parts of India especially in the Eastern parts. The travellers who toured the

length and breadth of the country recorded the social, economic and political conditions of India of that time. For want of sufficient knowledge of India their reports are sometimes found to be far from truth. The report of Richard Bell and John Cambell is a climax of distorted facts and wrong information. They have stated that Murād was the eldest and Aurangzeb was the youngest sons of Shāhjahān and the whole account of the war of succession is confused and unintelligible. In another place these two writers have stated that Shāhjahān was deposed at the age of 130 years. Tavernier also is not free from wrong statements and his account of Shujā's life in Arakan is full of errors. Among the travellers, Bernier and Manucci are detailed and reliable. Manucci, though he was an attendant of Dārā and had much devotion to that prince, did not hesitate to point out the faults and follies of his patron.

The records of the European factories in India, their correspondence with their home offices and the personal diary of the officials are no less important as source materials. Sometimes, these are more authentic and impartial than some of the sources written in Indian languages. The records of the English factories in India furnish ample first hand information on the subject under review. Streynshammaster and Hedges, who came to India as employees of the English East India Company, in their accounts, have furnished us with much important relevant information. Among the European factory records, the "Dagh Register" and the factory records of Batvia, helped to unveil the mystery created by the European travellers about the fate of Shujā and his family in Arakan by supplying valuable information.

The Ahom Buranji's also do not lag behind in furnishing materials for the history of medieval India. Many Buranjis, covering the different stages

of the entire medieval period, are available; out of these "The Pādshāh Buranji", "The Assam Buranji", "The Ahom Buranji" and "Buranji from Khunlung and Khunlai" are most important for the present subject. These furnish valuable information about the relations of Bengal with Assam and Koch Hajo, but the information regarding the war of succession does not appear to be correct.

From the contemporary Bengali literature some information is also available, which, though not sufficient, is very important. "Rājmala" gives details of Shujā's expedition to Tripura. The Poet Ruparām's "Dhārma Mangal" states the condition of the people under Shujā and the Poet Alāwāl in his "Hafta Payakar" describes how Shujā was received by the King of Arakan and the relation between the two.

LIST OF ABEREVIATIONS

AA	...	Āin-i-Akbarī
AB	...	Atan Buragohain and his times
Anec	...	Annecdotes of Aurangzeb
ADM	...	Akbarat-i-Darbar Mualla
Adab	...	Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī
AEI	...	Accounts of East Indies (Hamilton)
ADB	...	Annal of Delhi Badshahate
AN	...	Ālamgīr nāma
AB	...	Ahom Buranji
AS	...	Amal-i-Sālih
Aurang	...	Aurangzeb
BA	...	Bengal Atlas
Bowrey	...	
Ball	...	Tavernier
BPP	...	Bengal, Past and Present
BKK	...	Buranji from Khunlung and Khunlai
Burgess	...	Chronology of Modern India
Bernier (constable)		
CR	...	Calcutta Review
CG	...	Chahār Gulsan
Careri	...	
Catrau	...	
CQ	...	Calcutta Quarterly

DR	...	Dagh Register
DGB	...	Dist. Gaz. Bakharganj
DUS	...	Dācca University Studies
DM	...	Dhārma Mangal
DUA	...	Dastūr-ul-Aml
DG Mal	...	Dist. Gaz. Malda
DGWD	...	Dist. Gaz. West Dinajpur
DG Mon	...	Dist. Gaz. Monghyr
De Graaf	...	Nicholas de Graaf
DS	...	Dīwān-i-Sa'īd
DI	...	A Dictionary of Islām
E & D	...	Elliot and Dowson
EFI	...	English Factory Records in India
FA	...	Fatūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī
FI	...	Fathiyah-ibriyah
FI Con	...	Fathiyah-ibriyah continuation
FSG	...	Fort St. George
FQ	...	Faiyāz-ul-Qawānīn
GI	...	Gates of India
HP	...	Hapta Payakar
HLR	...	Hist. of Late Rebellion
Hedges	...	
AEI	...	Accounts of East Indies
IC	...	Islāmic Culture
IGB	...	Imperial Gaz. Bengal

IN	...	Ināyet Nāma
IA	...	Indian Antiquary
IA	...	India of Aurangzeb
JPHS	...	J. Pak. Hist. Society
JASB	...	J. Asiatic Society, Bengal
JBRS	...	J. Burma Research Society
JBORS	...	J. Bihār, Orissa Research Society
JIHQ	...	J. Indian Hist. Quarterly
JRP	...	Jaipur Records, Persian
JRR	...	Jaipur Records, Rājāsthānī
JI	...	Jāmīul Inshā
KT	...	Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh
LB	...	Lachit Barpukhan
LT	...	Lubb'ut - Tawārīkh
Lāhorī	...	Ḍādshāh nāma
MA	...	Mirāt-i-Ālam
MU	...	Maāsir-ul-Umarā
MJ	...	Mirāt-i-Jahānnāma
ML	...	Muntakhab-ul-Lubāb
MMH	...	Memoirs of Maps of Hindūstan
Manrique	...	
MH	...	Ruqqaāt-i-Hasan
M Alam	...	Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī
MT	...	Mulakhkhas-ut-Tawārīkh
M	...	Mulakhshas
MD	...	Ma'danu's

NOB	...	Notes and Observations in Bengal (Marshall)
OB	...	Oriental Bibliography
Orme	...	Historical Fragments of Mughal Empire
Purchas	...	
Poem	...	Aurangnāma
PIHC	...	Proc. Indian Hist. Congress
PAB	...	Purani Assam Buranji
PIHRC	...	Proc. Indian Hist. Record Commission
PB	...	Pādshāh Buranji
Qazvīnī	...	Bādshāhnāma
Riyāz	...	Riyāz-us-Salātin
RM	...	Rājmala
RA	...	Ruqqāt-i-Ālamgīrī
Rieu	...	
RB and JC	...	Richard Bell and John Cambell
SAR	...	Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign
SM	...	Streynsham Master
SS	...	Shāhid-i-Sādiq
Storia	...	Storia do Mogor
SN	...	Shāhjahānnāma
TF	...	Tawārīkh-i-Farahbakhash
TB	...	Tārīkh-i-Bangala
Thevenot	...	Travells of Md. Thevenot
TM	...	Tawārīkh-i-Muzaffari
T-i-M	...	Tawārīkh-i-Mufazzali

TS	...	Tawārīkh-i-Shāh Shujā
TU	...	Tāzkirat-ul-Umarā
TSC	...	Tāzkirat-us-Salātin-i-Chaghtāi
Tuzuk	...	Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī Trans : Rogers and Beveridge
Valentyne	...	Oud en Nieu'w OOst Indian
VB	...	Voyage to Bengal
WJ	...	Waki-āt-i-Jahāngīrī Trans : E & D, Vol. VII
Wāris	...	Pādshāhnāma
ZA	...	Zafar nāma-i-Ālamgīrī

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE OF PRINCE SHUJĀ

Birth :

Ajmīr, the famous city of Rājpūtānā, assumed an unusually brilliant and gay appearance during the rainy season of the year 1616. The calm and quiet atmosphere of the place was broken by the sounds of drums and other musical instruments to herald the birth of a Prince.

On Sunday night, June 23, 1616[1] "after 37 seconds had passed, at the time of the ascesion of 'Sagittarius' to the 27th degree by the calculations of the Hindū astronomers, and the 15th degree of 'Capricorn', by the calculation of the Greeks, there came from the womb of the daughter of Āsaf Khān (wife of Khurram) a precious pearl in the world of being"[2] at Ajmīr, at about 8-20 P.M. according to Hindū astronomy and about 9-32 P.M. according to Greek astronomy. Out of joy and pleasure at this boon, drums were beaten loudly and a huge amount of money was distributed in charity. Shāhjahān presented 1000 gold muhars to the Emperor and sought for the new born's name. Emperor Jahāngīr named the boy as 'Shāh Shujā'. The Court Poet Abu Tālim composed the Chronogram of his birth as such :

"Do min nayyar bada flak shahi ra"

(Second sun came in the fortune sky of the Emperor).

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1. Lāhorī 1, 392; Tuzuk 1. 328; Kanungo. "Dārāshukoh". 10; Saksena "Shāhjahān of Delhi", 15. According to Beale, Shujā was born on May 12, 1616 (oriental Bibliographical Dictionary : 392) and according to KT on May 20, 1616 (f. 452).

2. Tuzuk 1. 328.

Another poet named Bey Badal Khān said :-

"Shuda paida Vajud-i-Shāh Shujā"[3].

(Shāh Shujā came in this world).

By converting the above chronograms the exact year of Shāh Shujā's birth can easily be found out.

Illness and Accident :

Shujā was much loved by Emperor Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān with whom the boy was brought up till the age of twelve. In his autobiography the old Emperor stated that "Prince Shujā, the beloved son (liver-corner) of my son Shāhjahān, was brought up in the chaste lap of Nūr Jahān Begum, and ..... I have so much affection that he is dearer to me than life"[4]. In the middle of 1618 when Shujā was returning from the Deccan with his grand-father, he was attacked by "Ummu-s-Sibyan" (Diphtheria) and for a long time the child was in a senseless condition. All the devices of experienced physicians to cure the child failed and the Emperor became nervous. "As visible remedies were hopeless, by way of humility and submission, I rubbed the head of supplication on the Court of the Gracious Ruler who cherishes His slaves, and begged for the child's recovery"[5]. Emperor Jahāngīr gave up shooting from that day and promised not to do any harm to any living animals with his own hands. Soon afterwards the child recovered from the ailment[6].

Emperor Jahāngīr had great faith in his astrologer Jotik Rāi, who was the most skillful of the Indian astrologers. On judging the horoscope of Shujā

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3. A.S. 1. 97; Qazvīnī. 486.
4. Tuzuk II. 45.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid; WJ. 384.

at the beginning of the year 1620, he predicted that the next three or four months were unpropitious for the prince and during that time he might fall down from some high places but that he would remain unhurt. Since then the Emperor always kept a strict eye on the Prince and took the greatest precautions about his well-being. Within the predicted period the Emperor went to Kashmīr on a pleasure trip. On Sunday, March 27, 1620, a strange incident took place. On that day while the Emperor was sleeping in his apartment, the child was playing in the room near the window. The window had a screen in front, but it was not closed from within. The Prince moved towards the window to peep through it. The window was about 21' ft. high. As soon as the child peeped through, he fell out of the window. Fortunately, a carpet had been laid below the wall and a furnisher was sitting near it. The head of the child came down on the carpet and the feet on the shoulders of the furnisher. As a result, the child remained unhurt. The carpet and the furnisher saved the life of the child. At the time Rāy Mān, the head of the 'Khidmatiyya paida', who was standing below the 'jharuka', rushed towards the child, picked him up and ran up-stairs. When the Emperor was apprised of this incident, he ran out in a state of bewilderment. The Emperor was frightened and for a long time held the child in his arms. For this merciful escape of the child, the Emperor distributed alms liberally and assured the poor and deserving families of the city their means of livelihood[7].

In the middle of March, 1621, Shujā had an eruption, so virulent, that he could not even drink water and the physicians were despaired of his life. As it was recorded in the horoscope of Shāhjahān that he would lose a son, all the astrologers except Jotik Rāi were unanimous that the child would not survive.

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7. Tuzuk II. 151-52; MD. III. 98b-99a.

But Jotik Rāi contended that the child would be saved because in the horoscope of Emperor Jahāngīr there was no record of distress or distraction to the royal mind in that year. So no calamity could happen to his beloved grand-son but any other child of Shāhjahān might die. Strangely enough, Jotik Rāi's prediction proved correct because a son of Shāhjahān by the daughter of Shāh-nawaz Khān died at Burhānpūr and Shujā fully recovered very soon[8].

Education :

Like the other princes of the imperial family due care was taken for the education of Shujā in his childhood. In the month of March, 1619, Emperor Jahāngīr appointed Azudu-d-daulla as the tutor of Shujā[9]. Mullā Shāh Beg of Kabul, one of the greatest scholars of his time, was also appointed as tutor of Prince Shujā for some time[10]. Muhammad Sādiq or Sādiq Khān, the writer of Shāhjahān-nāma, was also a tutor of Shujā for some time[11]. Mīr Ala-ul-Mulk was a profound scholar of his time and possessed it a saintly disposition. For some time he went to Shiraz and upon his return, he was appointed tutor of Shujā and occupied a very exalted position in the Court of the prince during the latter's viceroyalty in Bengal[12]. Shujā might not have been a great scholar like Dārā, but undoubtedly he was a patron of art and literature and a man of

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8. Tuzuk II. 203.

9. Ibid. 82.

10. Qazvīnī. 386.

11. I.Q. Jany/1941. p. 67.

12. JPHS. Vol. I. p. 347.

cultivated taste. Many famous poets graced his Court and many buildings in various parts of Bengal bear witness to his taste for arts and architecture.

Jahāngīr's Presents to Shujā :

It is needless to mention that, of all the grand-children, Shujā was the most favoured by the Emperor. This favourite grandson had always lived with his grand-father and grand-mother and enjoyed the highest favour which none of his brothers and sisters had ever enjoyed. On January 31, 1626, Jahāngīr gave presents worth rupees ten lakhs to Shujā[13].

Shāhjahān's Accession to the Throne :

Shujā always stayed with his grand-father and at the end of Jahāngīr's reign, his two other brothers, Dārā and Aurangzeb, were also sent to the Court probably to serve as hostages for Shāhjahān's good behaviour. In the year 1627, the summer of Lahore was too hot for the old Emperor and he, therefore, went to Kashmīr. But there his asthma took an alarming turn and so he again decided to return to Lahore. On the way his disease proved fatal and on October 29, 1627, the old Emperor breathed his last at Rājāuri. At the time of Jahāngīr's death, Shāhjahān was in the Deccan and his three elder sons were in the custody of Nūr Jahān. The ambitious queen, Nūr Jahān, then at Lahore, determined to support Shahriyār for the throne, and prepared to oppose the candidature of Shāhjahān. Āsaf Khān and Irādat Khān, who were staunch supporters of Shāhjahān, informed the latter promptly about this development and felt the necessity of preventing disturbances in the city of Delhi and to ensure the safe return of the sons of

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13. Qazvīnī. 87a.

Shāhjahān from Lahore. As the princes were in the custody of Nūr Jahān at Lahore, the generals tactfully removed them from her apartment and placed them in charge of Sādiq Khān, a relative of Shāhjahān[14].

Shāhjahān formally ascended the throne at Agra on February 4, 1628, and about three weeks later the princes were presented in the Court by their maternal grand-father, Āsaf Khān. Shāhjahān, after his accession to the throne, distributed a sum of rupees eight lakhs among Mumtāz Mahal and her children and out of this amount Shujā got one and a half lakh of rupees and the daily allowance of Shujā was fixed at Rs.750/-[15]. On March 9, 1628, Mumtāz Mahal and her children were given a grand reception at Agra and were introduced to the royal presence. In the 'Jharuka' of the private hall Emperor Shāhjahān received them. Then all the nobles and princes offered their 'peshkash' to the Emperor. Shujā paid his respects by offering 850 gold muhars and 850 rupees[16]. Soon after his accession Shāhjahān sent Dārā, Shujā and Aurangzeb in the company of the Mughal generals like Sa‍dat Khān, Khān-i-Jamān, etc. against Shahryār who had revolted in the Punjāb, supported by Nūr Jahān[17].

Death of Mumtāz Mahal :

On the night of Wednesday, June 7, 1631, Mumtāz Mahal, gave birth to a female child at Burhānpūr in the Deccan. But she could not survive the strain

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14. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 69; A.S.I. 208; Qazvīnī. 91a; KT. 473; CR. Vol. 49. P.148.

15. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 97.

16. A.S.I. 277.

17. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 73; Qazvīnī. 93a.

of delivery and died within a short time. For the time being the dead body of Mumtāz Mahal was interned in the Zainābād garden (in Burhānpūr) across the river Tapti. Later on, the responsibility of bringing the dead body to Agra was entrusted to Shujā. The prince carried the dead body to Agra on Friday, December 11, 1631 and he was accompanied by Wāzir Khān and Satī-un-Nisā, the Chief maid-in-waiting of the late empress. There the body was buried on the bank of the Jumna in a plot previously belonging to Rājā Mān Singh which Shāhjahān purchased for this purpose at a nominal price from the Rājā[18]. The world famous Tāj Mahal was erected at this place over the tomb of Mumtāz by Shāhjahān later on.

Elephant Fight :

One incident of his boyhood bears evidence of Shujā's courage and his affection for his brothers. It was Aurangzeb's encounter with a furious elephant on May 28, 1633. The elephant fight was a favourite pastime of Emperor Shāhjahān, as it was of Akbar the Great. In the morning of May 28, 1633 a fight was arranged between two huge elephants named 'Sudhākar' and 'Sūrat-Sundar' on the level bank of the Jumna near Agra Fort. Dārā was standing on the right side and Shujā and Aurangzeb on the left side of the Emperor. Aurangzeb, intending to see the fight from close quarters, proceeded nearest to the fighting elephants. After a little fight 'Sūrat Sundar' suddenly left the battle field. By this time 'Sudhākar's' spirit was fully roused and losing sight of his rival, he, in an angry mood, charged Aurangzeb, who was standing near. The prince controlled his horse with one hand and, with another, hurled

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18. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 403, Qazvīnī. 199a; ASI. 451; MA. 183b.

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the spear at the elephant's head. All was now in confusion and in alarm the spectators were flying in all directions. The nobles and the servants ran about shouting and fire works were let off in vain to check the elephant. The elephant attacked Aurangzeb's horse, whereupon the prince jumped down on the ground and faced the raging beast with drawn sword. At this very moment, Shujā forced his way through the crowd and galloped up to the wild animal and wounded it with his spear. But he could not control his horse which stood on its rear and the prince was thrown down. Rājā Jai Singh rushed to their help, but his horse could not reach the spot. Thereupon the Emperor ordered a general attack on the animal. Just at this moment 'Sūrat Sundar' reappeared on the battle field and challenged his rival. Daunted either by the new challenge or by the spears and the fire works, 'Sudhākar' fled away from the arena followed by his rival. The princes were thus saved from danger. The Emperor got up from his seat, embraced Aurangzeb and placed his hand on Shujā. Shujā was highly praised for his gallantry and affection for his brother[19].

Shujā's Expedition to Parenda and Qandahār :

At the request of Khān Khānān Mahābat Khān, in the month of August, 1633, Shujā was appointed to lead the Deccan expedition at the head of a large army. Again, in the years 1638, 1646 and 1651, Shujā led expeditions against Qandahār and Trans-Oxiana. The details of all these expeditions have been described in Chapter III.

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19. Lāhorī. Vol. I, 490-92; ASI. 556, 558; Qazvīnī. 237a; MLI. 474; Anec. 30-31; Aurang. I. 8-9.

CHAPTER II.

PRINCE SHUJĀ'S MARRIAGES AND CHILDREN

Marriages of Prince Shujā :

The Mughal Emperors of India had a fascination for forming matrimonial alliances with the Persian royal family. "The Mughal Emperors made the most of this opportunity of ennobling their royal blood by alliances with the royal family of Persia even through a younger branch. Muzaffar Husain's daughter was married to Shāhjahān, and the two daughters of Mirzā Rustam to the princes Parvīz and Shujā"[1]. Mirzā Rustam Safvī, a relation of Persian King Shāh Tahmasp I, emigrated to India during Akbar's reign and became prominent during the time of Jahāngīr[2].

After the marriage of Dārā, Emperor Shāhjahān desired the marriage of Prince Shujā with Bilqīs, the daughter of Rustam Mirzā Safvī, the descendent of imperial Safvī dynasty of Iran. The Emperor called Makramat Khān, 'Dīwān-i-Boyutut', who was well versed in astronomy to consult with the other astronomers of the court and to fix a date for the marriage of Shujā. Since the marriage was not possible between the two Ī'd festivals and as the month of 'Ramazān' was falling before 'Īd-ul-Fitr', the date of marriage was fixed on the night of March 6, 1633, a month earlier. After the date was fixed Shāhjahān called Jahānāra Begum, his eldest daughter, and said that since her mother was no more,

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1. Aurang. Vol. I. P.58.

2. Ibid. 57.

she should act in her place. The Sachiq[3] ceremony was performed on February 20th and on that occasion huge presents in cash and kind were sent to the house of Mirzā Rustam Safvī through Mīr Jumla, Mūsvī Khān and Sādiq Khān. The night of 5th March was the night of 'Hinna Bandi'[4]. 'Hinna' was brought from the house of Rustam Mirzā Safvī in big dishes and this was applied to both the bride and the bridegroom. On the morning of 6th March, the day of the marriage, a costly dowry was presented to Shujā, part of which had already been arranged and selected by Mumtāz Mahal when she was alive. This was valued at about ten lakhs of rupees, out of which five lakhs were in jewels, pearls, etc., and the other five lakhs in gold and other ornaments. Begam Shaheba (Jahānāra) also gave valuable presents. At noon the Emperor appeared in the 'Jharuka' and invited his relatives to see the presents. The Emperor ordered all the persons of the fort including his personal attendants to come and see the presents. When this was over, the Emperor ordered the removal of the presents to the palace of Shujā which was situated on the bank of the river Jumna.

In the afternoon the marriage party proceeded in a procession to the house of Rustam Mirzā Safvī. The party was cordially received; and various kinds of sweets, betel leaves and perfume were distributed among them. Malika Jahān Begum presented many costly articles valued at about ten lakhs of rupees.

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3. First gifts with the auspicious red dye for the bride.

4. "The lawsonia inermis, or Eastern privet, used for dying the hands and feet on festive occasions (marriage). Muhammad enjoyed the use of 'hinna' and approved of women staining their hands and feet with it. He also dyed his own beard with it, and recommended its use for this purpose. It is therefore, become a religious custom and sunnach". D.I. 175.

Then the high officials and nobles visited and offered presents to the party. In the evening the party returned to Shujā's palace. Then Aurangzeb, Murād and the army generals paid visits to the house of the prince. Throughout the evening various kinds of fire works were displaced to mark the occasion. Among these, mention may be made of 'Tire Hawai', which lighted the entire space "between the earth and the sky". Thereafter Prince Shujā was brought to the imperial palace by Aurangzeb and others. The Emperor made a present worth rupees two lakhs. Then the Emperor placed a turban on Shujā's head and Shujā paid his respects to the Emperor. When the 'espousal' (nikah) ceremony was to be held, the Emperor called Kāzī Muhammad Aslam before him and asked him to recite the Khutba of the nikah in his presence. A sum of rupees four lakhs was fixed as 'Mihr'[5]. The Court Poet, Abu Tālib Kalīm, the poet laureate, recited the undermentioned poem praying for Shujā's happiness and prosperity in life :

"Aidil az gulshan-i-ummīd gul-i-aish be chīn
Rozgār-i-tarab va ishrat-i-javid āmd
Pesh az ān dam ke ze nauruz chaman Īd kunad
Ba masham-i-hama bu-i-gul ummid āmd.
Jashn-i-dāmādi-i-Sultān-i-jahān Shāh Shujā
Ālam afroz tar az Kaukaba-i-Īd āmd.
Ba sarāparda-i-māh flak pādshāhī
Az pai saz-i-tarab mukab-i-nāhid āmd.
Behr-i-tārikh qiran kard raqam kilk-i-kalim
Mehd-i-Bilqis ba sar-i-manzil-i-Jamshed āmd"

(Oh ! my heart now pluck the flowers of happiness from the garden of hope). (Because) The days of happiness and enjoyment have come. This happiness has come even before the day of 'Nauroz' when the garden used to observe Īd usually.

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5. Money promised by the bridegroom to the bride in case of divorce.

The marriage ceremony of Sultān Shāh Shujā is a star more luminous and shining than that of the Īd one. Heavens too enjoying this occasion. Look at the beautiful 'Nāhir'[6] which has appeared in the sky with all its loveliness, Kalīm's pen hereby records the date of this union - The cradle of Bilqīs hereby arrives in the castle of Jamsher"[7].

Shujā returned to his own palace in the middle of the month and one day, thereafter, the Emperor had his dinner in the palace of the prince[8]. But unfortunately this wife of Shujā expired on June 9, 1635, without any issue[9]. In the same year (1635) after the death of the daughter of Mirzā Rustam Saḷvī, Emperor Shāhjahān asked Azam Khān, the Viceroy of Bengal to give in marriage his daughter, Umdatun Nisā, to prince Shujā. Azam Khān at once sent his wife and daughter from Bengal to the imperial capital where the marriage ceremony was performed[10].

In the fifth year of Shāhjahān's reign Shujā married the grand-daughter of Nazr Muhammad Khān, the King of Balkh, named Farkhanda Khancun. This marriage was celebrated at Kashmīr[11].

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6. Name of an auspicious star.

7. Qazvīnī. 228a.

8. ASI. 538-43; Qazvīnī, 219b, 227a-28a; Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 460, 464; MA. 184a; MJ. 448a; MD. III. 148a.

9. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 137; AS. Vol. II. 302.

10. AS. Vol. II. 302.

11. MD. Vol. III. 148.

The daughter of Rājā Gor Singh was also one of the consorts of Shujā[12].

Shujā's Children :

Dilband Bānū : The daughter of Mirzā Rustam Safvī gave birth to a daughter on June 19, 1634, but the child died the next day. The Emperor named the child as Dilband-Bānū[13].

Zain Muhammad : On October 29, 1639, the daughter of Azam Khān gave birth to a son. Shujā offered 1000 mohars to the Emperor and requested him to name the newly born son. The Emperor named him Zain Muhammad[14]. He played an important role during Shujā's war for the throne and worked as an emissary of his father to the King of Arakan seeking shelter[15]. He along with his family went to Arakan and died a tragic death at the end of 1661[16].

Gulrukh Bānū Begum : A girl was born to Shujā on November 1, 1639, and the Emperor named her Gulrukh Bānū Begum[17]. Muhammad Sultān, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, after the battle of Khajwa, was deputed to pursue Shujā. During this pursuit, Muhammad Sultān being displeased with his father went over to Shujā's

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12. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 434.

13. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 32-33.

14. Ibid. Vol. II. 165; AS. Vol. II. 311, 460.

15. Bernier (Const), Pt. II. p.86.

16. Storia. Vol. I. 376; Bernier (Const), Pt. II. 89; Harvey. G. E. "Hist. of Burma", 147.

17. Lāhorī. Vol. II. P. 166; AS. Vol. II. 311.

camp and married Gulrukh Bānū Begum[18]. But after a few months when Shujā's position was hopeless, he secretly returned to Mīr Jumla's camp abandoning his wife[19]. Gulrukh Bānū accompanied his father to Arakan and was murdered there in tragic circumstances[20].

Buland Ākhtar : On September 24, 1645, a son was born to Shujā by the daughter of Rājā Gor Singh. Shujā offered 1000 mohars to the Emperor and requested him to name the newly born son. The Emperor named the boy Buland Ākhtar[21]. He also took an important part in the disastrous fratricidal war for the throne and was at last driven to Arakan along with the family where he was also brutally murdered[22].

According to the European travellers and Dutch records, Shujā had with him three daughters when he fled to Arakan. But particulars of only one daughter (Gulrukh Banū Begum) are available in Persian sources; while nothing is available about the two other alleged daughters either in Persian or in any other sources.

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18. TS. 122a-24a; FA. 46b; AN. 511; MA. 228b.

19. Poem 407-08.

20. Storia. Vol. I. 376; Bernier (Const), Pt. II. 89; HIR. 114; JBRS. Vol. XXVI. Pt. I. 25-26; IC. April, 1937. 254; Harvey "Hist. of Burma" 147.

21. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 434.

22. Storia. Vol. I. 376; Bernier (Const), Pt. II. 89; Harvey "Hist. of Burma" 147.

CHAPTER III.

PRINCE SHUJĀ'S EARLY EXPEDITIONS

A. Expedition to Parenda :

Early Mughal Relations with Ahmadnagar : Malik Ahmad Nizām-ul-Mulk seceded from the Bahmanī Empire and founded the kingdom of Ahmadnagar in 1490 and all the attempts of the puppet Sultān Mahmūd to subdue him were successfully repulsed. But the new kingdom lost her peace with Malik Ahmad's death and disruptive tendencies became active in the country. For a long time it continued to be a play-ground of the ambitions of warring factions whose main aim was to establish their own supremacy even at the cost of the integrity of the country. The miserable distractions of the kingdom were aggravated by a long-drawn conflict with her two neighbouring kingdoms, Bījapūr and Golkonda. "With its energies exhausted, its resources depleted, its administrative machinery out of gear, Ahmadnagar was reduced almost to a lifeless body, during the last decades of the sixteenth century and the early part of the seventeenth century". Malik Ambar, the celebrated Abyssinian slave, who came to guide the destiny of the state at this juncture, "revitalised its fossilised structure for a short time, but after his death, decline again set in"[1].

Relation of Ahmadnagar with the first two Mughal Emperors of Delhi was formal. Kalīm-ul-llah, the last of the Bahmanīdes had a dream of reviving the fortunes of his dynasty by overthrowing the dominance of his prime minister Alī Barid and by recovering the territories which had been usurped by autonomous

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1. B. P. Saksena "History of Shāhjahān of Delhi", P. 126.

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nobles. With that intention he addressed a letter to Bābar, the first Mughal Emperor promising him to cede to him the provinces of Berār and Daulatābād in lieu of his support to realise his ambition. But the leakage of the news spoiled the plan of Kalīm-ul-llah. Burhān I, the ruler of Ahmadnagar also appealed to Bābar and Humāyūn for protection from the high handedness of Bahādur Shāh of Gujrāt. But Diplomatic and direct relations were established between Ahmadnagar and the Mughal Emperors of Delhi during the time of Akbar, when the latter conquered Gujrāt in 1573. Akbar had covetous eyes on the Deccan kingdoms and moreover, he was actuated by the consideration that he was obliged by a certain Divine truth to establish good government in every realm. Soon he got a pretext to realise his ambition. During the inglorious rule of Murtazā Nizāmshāh, peace and security were at stake and being afraid of his brother Burhān II, he fled to Akbar and appealed for help. Akbar thought of establishing his supremacy in the Deccan more effectively by assisting Burhān II to ascend the throne of Ahmadnagar. But he was disappointed, for his protege, soon after his accession, repudiated his allegiance to him. This provoked the Emperor, and during the internecine strife which broke out after Burhān II's death, he despatched a strong force under prince Murād who besieged Ahmadnagar and secured the cession of Berār. Akbar personally came to the Deccan to complete the work started by Prince Murād in 1595 and annexed Bālāghat, recovered Berār and reduced Khāndesh[2].

Akbar had to return from the Deccan without consolidating his position. On the departure of Akbar, Ambar and Rājū, the two chiefs of Ahmadnagar started

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2. B. P. Saksena "History of Shāhjahān of Delhi" P. 127-29;
   V. A. Smith "Akbar the Great" P. 194-200.

fighting for supremacy. Ambar, the Abyssinian, defeated his rival, consolidated his position and proclaimed a puppet, Murtazā II, as the King of Khāndesh. During the reign of Jahāngīr all attempts of the imperial generals to subdue Ahmadnagar was frustrated by the skill and efficiency of Ambar, who was now designated "Malik". The imperial prestige restored by Prince Shāhjahān, [redacted] was lowered again during his own subsequent rebellion. It revived after Malik Ambar's death in 1626 when Khāndesh, Berār, the fort of Ahmadnagar and parts of Bālāghat were brought under the imperial possession[3].

Malik Ambar was succeeded by his son, Fath Khān, whose relations with Murtazā II were very strained. This subsequently flared up into an open conflict. Ultimately, Fath Khān was defeated and captured. Murtazā II appointed Muqarrab Khān as Commander-in-Chief and Ikhalās Khān as Peshwā. During the chaotic condition which reigned supreme in the Northern India due to Mahābat Khān's rebellion and the rivalry between Nūrjahān and Asaf Khān after the death of Jahāngīr in 1627, Murtazā Khān was successful in inducing Khān Jahān, the Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan to surrender Bālāghat and the other Mughal possessions in the Deccan. Soon after his accession, Shāhjahān appointed Irādat Khān in place of Khān Jahān and was determined to recover the lost prestige. Khān Jahān went over to the side of the enemy. At this time a temporary alliance was also formed by Bījapūr, Ahmadnagar and Golkunda to resist the Mughals, their common foe. The physical features of the country were suitable for guerilla warfare in which the Deccanīs excelled. So Shāhjahān planned to overwhelm the enemy by sheer numbers, and by attacking their various

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3. B. P. Saksena "History of Shāhjahān of Delhi" 127-30.

strategic points simultaneously[4]. Accordingly, Azam Khān (Irādat Khān) was deputed to enter Bālāghat in order to overpower Khān Jahān. Azam Khān opened his campaign by inflicting a crushing defeat upon the Nizāmshāhī and reduced Dhārūr. Randola Khān, the Ādilshāhī Commander, turned down Azam Khān's proposal for negotiation. Further, the latter was threatened by the movement of Khawās Khān, the Bījapūr Dictator. A'zam Khān, thereupon, sent a message to the Emperor for reinforcements and at the same time decided to press on to Parenda to divert the attention of the Deccanīs. With a view to reduce Parenda, A'zam Khān started the siege without waiting for reinforcements and invested the fort from three sides. When the fort was about to fall, the imperialists were short of supplies and all attempts of the foraging parties were intercepted by the Deccanīs. The shortage of supplies and the non-arrival of reinforcements forced A'zam Khān to raise the siege and retreat towards Dhārūr[5].

Soon a new crisis broke out in the kingdom of Ahmadnagar when Murtazā II being pressed by his wife released and reinstated Fath Khān as the Vakil and Peshwā. This offended Muqurrab Khān who entered the imperial service. Fath Khān soon imprisoned and poisoned to death Murtazā II and placed the latter's 10 year-old son, Husain, on the throne[6]. In March 1632, Emperor Shāhjahān personally came to Burhanpūr when Fath Khan surrendered to him. Shāhjahān now appointed his veteran general, Mahābat Khān as the Viceroy of the Deccan and himself returned to the capital. The betrayal of Fath Khān annoyed the

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4. Ibid. 130-32; Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I; 199, 257, 293-94; Qazvīnī. 189b.

5. B. P. Saksena "Hist. of Shāhjahān of Delhi" 134-36;
Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 339-46, 356-60; Qazvīnī. 214a-15a.

6. B. P. Saksena "Hist. of Shāhjahān of Delhi" 136-37;
Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 402; Qazvīnī. 238b.

Ādilshāhīs and they attacked the Nizāmshāhī and at about the same time (1632), Aqā Rizā, the Nizāmshāhī Commander of the fort of Parenda, surrendered the fort to the Ādilshāhī[7]. Fath Khān appealed to Mahābat Khān, the newly appointed Mughal Viceroy of the Deccan for help. Randola Khān took prompt steps to win over Fath Khān. Mahābat Khān, thereupon, immediately besieged Daulatābād. During the siege Mahābat Khān was constantly harassed by Randola Khān, Shāhjī and others, but ultimately he was able to occupy it in the middle of 1633. Husain Nizām Shāh and Fath Khān were captured and sent to Agra and Husain was later imprisoned in the fort of Gwālior.

The occupation of Daulatābād kindled the ambition of Mahābat Khān and he decided to seize Parenda in order to annex Ahmadnagar. Accordingly he wrote to the Emperor Shāhjahān that this Mughal victory had impressed the people of the Deccan and at the same time had frightened them also. Moreover, the people of the Deccan were suffering from such an acute scarcity of food and grain that they were unable to face and withstand any strong assault. So it was high time for Mughal expansion in the Deccan by subjugating the rest of the territories. He further stated that his own men were tired and if a prince were deputed with fresh troops to undertake the campaign, success was absolutely certain. Shāhjahān was not very much willing to pursue any further aggression in the South, but being pressed by Mahābat Khān, he decided to send a strong army under the command of prince Shāh Shujā[8]. Elated with success, Mahābat Khān

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7. Surrender of the Fort of Parenda, Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 33; Qazvīnī, 319.

8. Qazvīnī. 259a, 300a; ASI. 614; Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 537; M.U. II. 24.

under-estimated the strength of Bījapūr and altogether ignored the troubles which were brewing in Ahmadnagar itself. The Emperor who was quite in the dark about the latest situation in the Deccan and had much confidence in his veteran general, agreed to depute prince Shujā to the Deccan.

Prince Shujā's Expedition to Parenda : The Emperor raised the rank of Prince Shujā in order to lead an army of 10,000 Zāt and 50,000 Suwār and presented him many other marks of honour and dignity such as robes of honour, two equipped horses, a jewelled sword, a well-equipped and richly dressed elephant etc.[9]. To meet the expenses of the campaign, the Emperor sanctioned a quarter of a million of rupees in advance from the royal treasury and another one and a half lakhs of rupees as an assignment from the Mālwa treasury[10]. The generals who accompanied the prince were : Sayyid Khān Jahān, Rājā Jai Singh, Rājā Vithaldās, Allawardī Khān, Rashīd Khān Ansārī, Khawās Khān, Mādho Singh, Rāo Ratan, Qizilbash Khān, Chandra Bhān Bundela, Rājā Roz Afzun, Bhīm Rathor, Rājā Rāmdās, Asālat Khān, Khalīlullah Khān, Karamullah Khān, Alī Mardān Khān, Sayyid Ālam, Fāzil Khān, Yakkatāz Khān, Jamāl Uddin, Habīb Khān Sur, Karam-ullah son of Alī Mardān Khān, one thousand "ahadīs"[11], one thousand musketeers and an innumerable host of footmen[12]. On August 28, 1633, Prince Shujā started for the Deccan from the capital. The Emperor ordered the prince to come out of his house in a 'Rath' (Chariot) and not on horse back. All the

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9. AS. I. 615.

10. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 538; Qazvīnī. 259b.

11. Name of the infantry division. Irvine "The Army of the Indian Mughals", P. 57.

12. Qazvīnī. 259b; Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 537.

generals were highly awarded and their ranks and salaries were increased[13].

Mahābat Khān was highly pleased when he heard that Prince Shujā had reached very near to Burhanpūr with large reinforcements. He came forward and received the prince. Mahābat Khān suggested that as it was the best time for besieging the fort of Parenda, they should not tarry at Burhanpūr. At once they started for Parenda and on October 30, 1633, they reached Malkapūr. From here Khān Zamān was deputed immediately to proceed with his troops towards the frontier districts of Bījapūr to plunder the suburbs and to destroy the properties of the out-skirts of Bījapūr, so that the supply of rations and reinforcements to the enemy might be cut off. Khān Zamān's army included Mubāriz Khān, Allawardī Khān, Murtazā Khān, Rashīd Khān, Asālat Khān, Mubarak Khān, Bāqī Beg, Rājā Jai Singh, Jogrāj, Rājā Vithaldās, Rāo Karan, Rājā Bahar Singh, Rājā Sarang Deo, Rājā Narahardās Bundela, Hardās Kachoah, Rāo Satarsāl, Rājā Roz Afzun and Sangrām Zamīndār. Shāh Shujā himself followed the Khān Khānān along with the rest of the army[14]. To ensure regular supply of ration for the army it was decided to post a group of soldiers at four different places. Accordingly, Nūr Muhammad Arab with 500 cavalry was posted at Jālnāpūr, Sayyid Ālam at the head of 500 cavalry was posted at Barh, Qīzīlbash Khān with 1000 horsemen was sent to Shāhgarh and Safshikand Khān with 2000 cavalry sent to Bid[15].

Unfortunately, from the very beginning the campaign proved to be complicated. Shāhjī, the celebrated Marāthā Chief, discovered a relative of

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13. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. I. 538.
14. Ibid. Vol. I. Pt. II. 35; Qazvīnī. 277a; AS. II. 48.
15. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 35; Qazvīnī. 277b.

the Nizāmshāh, declared him king and attempted to rally all those who had still some regard and loyalty for the late Nizāmshāhī dynasty. Being also an ally of Bījapūr, he naturally planned his activities to relieve the pressure on Parenda and to resist the Mughal expansion in the South. He started plundering the villages and destroying the crops and thus creating havoc in the suburbs of Daulatābād and Bīdar and also attempted to intercept the Mughal line of communication with 'Zafarnagar'. Shujā at once ordered Khawās Khān[16], a Mughal general, to proceed with 3000 cavalry to chastise Shāhjī. Khawās Khān plundered and destroyed the suburbs of 'Chamorkunda', the home of the Bhonsles and then took up a position at 'Samgamnēr', about December 1633, or the next month. In the meantime, when Ādil Khān heard about the movements of the imperial troops, he sent Kishānjī with sufficient money for the aid of the fort and posted Randola and Murārī Pandit near the 'nala'[17]. Thus the Mughal army faced the forces of Ahmadnagar and Bījapūr, as well as the Marāthā guerillas of Shāhjī. By this time Khān Zamān had advanced from Malkāpūr and reached within one Kos of the fort of Parenda. Then he divided his army into several groups. He put the Rājpūts under the command of Rājā Jai Singh, the artillery under the charge of Allawardī Khān, Rashīd Khān and Asālat Khān and the Afghāns under the command of Mubāriz Khān. The head of the advance communication party (chandawal) was Jograj and they all encamped near the moat, surrounding the fort. Allawardī Khān was entrusted with the task of laying mines under the fortifications and setting up batteries. But he could

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16. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. P. 36; but according to Qazvīnī Daulat Khān was deputed against Shāhjī. Qazvīnī. 277b.

17. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 36; Qazvīnī. 277b.
J. N. Sarkār "House of Shivājī", 38-39.

not make much headway because the enemy was shelling constantly over the imperial army and destroyed their bunkers. One day Sayyid Farhān, the Commander of the fort, was killed by the imperial bullet but this news was blacked out till Ādil Khān sent Ghalib in the place of the dead commander. At this time Khān-i-Daurān, the Subedār of Mālwa, joined the imperial army. Soon Ghalib was also killed by the bullet of the imperial army and Nauras was posted in his place[18].

On February 24, 1634, Shujā arrived within six miles of Parenda along with Mahābat Khān and stayed there for a few days. The Bījapūrīs and Shāhjī advanced to meet the Mughal army. On hearing this, Mahābat Khān ordered his son, Lahrāsip and Hakīm Khushhal to march against the enemy. But when the Khān Khānān was informed of the actual number and strength of the enemy, he personally took the field at the head of the imperial army. Scarcely had he gone half a Kos when he found himself suddenly attacked by the enemy, numbering about 10,000; he was much upset. The Khān Khānān immediately sent Lahrāship for reinforcement from the main army. Maheshdās Rāthor and Raghunāth Bhāti[19] fought valiantly and thereby prevented the enemy from doing any harm to the Khān Khānān. Maheshdās hurled himself into the ranks of the enemy without caring for his own life and, as a result, he was seriously injured. A good number of Rājpūt soldiers were killed and wounded. Prince Shujā at once sent

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18. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 37; Qazvīnī has not mentioned the death of Ghalib. Qazvīnī. 278a. According to Kambū, the first commandant was Saiyadi Mirzan. AS. II. 49.

19. Kambū mentions the name of Qiladar Khān in place of Raghunāth Bhāti. AS. II. 50.

about 2500 soldiers under Khān-i-Daurān, Khwāja Tāhir, Āmir Beg, Nade-i-Alī also accompanied Khān-i-Daurān. On the arrival of reinforcements, the enemy were frightened away[20]. Had not the Khān-i-Daurān been sent to the assistance of the Khān Khānān, it would have been most difficult for the latter to escape. This discomfiture lowered the position of the Khān Khānān in the eyes of the prince, as also in the eyes of the other generals.

On March 8, 1634, the prince advanced from Kampapur to Parenda. On the same day a party of the enemy came out from the fort and attacked the Mughal platoon of Rājā Pahār Singh. But the attack was repulsed with the aid of Asālat Khān and Rājā Roz Afzum[21]. Now, the Khān Khānān arranged to surround the fort of Parenda and to occupy 'Kohi'[22]. He marched along with Khān-i-Jahān and the other generals. On the left side of 'Kohi' he deputed Khān-i-Jahān, Satarsāl, Rashīd Khān, Prithvīrāj; he himself went to the right leaving Rājā Jai Singh and Murtazā Khān with the rest of the army with the prince. He posted Shujā-at-Khān and Ahmad Khān between the prince and himself. When he had advanced about six Kos to capture 'Kohi', he found the enemy approaching. He at once ordered Khān Zamān to encircle 'Kohi' so that the enemy might not enter it. The enemy ferociously attacked Khān-i-Jahān and a bloody struggle ensued. Being apprised of the situation, the Khān Khānān rushed to the spot and repulsed the enemy several times[23].

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20. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 38-39; AS. II. 50-52. Qazvīnī. 278b.

21. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 39; AS. II. 53.

22. Perhaps 'Kohi' was an important centre of fodder supply, at a little distance from the fort of Parenda.

23. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 40.

On March 12, Allawardī Khān was heavily attacked by the enemy and after a pitched battle he inflicted heavy casualties on the enemy and repulsed them. The Khān Khānān by this time reached 'Kohi'. On March 18, Khān Jahān, Khān Daurān, and Mubāriz Khān were attacked by about 2000 of the enemy, Khān Khānān despatched Lahrāship to the aid of the imperial army and the enemy was successfully driven away. Soon Khān Jahān and Khān Daurān reached 'Kohi' and ordered the people of 'Kohi' to come out and follow them in a group. While the people of 'Kohi' were coming out, carrying huge quantity of fodder, encircled by the Mughal army, a hostile band slipped among the people of 'Kohi' and set fire to a bundle of grass. The fire quickly engulfed the entire area and destroyed a large number of animals like camels, cows, horses, etc. together with all the fodder. This created chaos and confusion in the Mughal Camp. On receipt of this news, the Khān Khānān at once rushed to the spot, as did Prince Shujā. He at once ordered Bithaldās, Prithvīrāj, Khān Zamān and Rashīd Khān to drive away the enemy and himself returned to the camp with Khān Khānān[24].

On March 19, Khān Khānān was informed that the enemy had made an attack on Allawardī Khān which was successfully repulsed. But this was possible at the cost of huge casualties in his army and in the army of Jograj and Asālat Khān[25].

On March 22, Prince Shujā decided to make an all-out attack on the enemy. He deputed a large number of troops under the command of Sayyid Khān Jahān, Khān Zamān, Rājā Jai Singh, Rāo Satarsāl and Mubarīk Khān to attack the

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24. Ibid. 40-42. Qazvīnī. 280a.

25. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 42.

enemy at midnight. Since the enemy got scent of this, in time, they left the place. But as they had to do it hurriedly, they could not carry with them their rations and other things. During the encounter with the enemy, Rājā Jai Singh's troops captured Mādhoji and on learning from him that he was a Brahmin, he was set free. But Jai Singh was deceived by wrong information. After being set free, Mādhoji collected his scattered forces and attacked the Mughal army with greater ferocity, but he was badly wounded[26].

On March 23, Rājā Jai Singh had an encounter with the enemy forces. On the same day the enemy under the leadership of Mādhoji attacked Mubārīz Khān, but both the attacks were successfully repulsed. On April 11, Kaka Pandit, a trusted servant of the Khān Khānān, who was on duty of bringing ration for the army, was captured by the enemy[27]. Khān Khānān was annoyed at this and appealed to Prince Shujā for intensification of the attack on the enemy. The prince agreed to the proposal. He left Jograj and Lahrāship behind and arranged the army as follows :-

Khān Khānān was sent with the advance troops, and Khān Zamān, Mubārīz Khān and Murtazā Khān were posted on the left. The enemy followed the 'scorched earth' policy and thereby checked the progress of the imperial army. When the imperial troops came face to face with the enemy, the latter received them with heavy showers of arrows. Khān Zamān attacked first. He was joined by Khān Jahān and then came Rājā Jai Singh and Bithaldās. From the rear side

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26. Ibid. 43; Qazvīnī. 280b.

27. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 44; Qazvīnī. 281a.

Khān Daurān attacked the enemy. The enemy was led by Murārī, brother of Madhoji. Murārī, in the heat of battle fell down from his horse but one of his faithful followers saved him at the cost of his own life. Thus the enemy was repulsed and heavy casualties were inflicted upon them. In this battle Rājā Bithaldās, Rājā Bhao Singh and Prithvīrāj showed special gallantry for which they received due recognition from the prince[28].

Now the imperial army encamped within a short distance of the fort to protect their own line of retreat and also to prevent reinforcements enriching the garrison. In spite of all precautions taken by Khān Khānān, supplies in the imperial camp ran short, and hence it became necessary to send foraging parties to distant places. But the imperial convoys were intercepted by the guerilla bands of the enemy and the imperial army was reduced to the verge of starvation[29].

Moreover, the enemy was very alert and discovered every mine laid beneath the fortification, and either removed them or flooded the place with water. After much trouble a mine in the trench of Allawardī Khān was completed and charged unnoticed by the enemy. It was exploded in the presence of Shujā, and although it blew up a bastion, it failed to make any breach. This failure disheartened the imperialists and the chance of repeating the attempt grew extremely remote[30].

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28. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 44-45; Qazvīnī. 281b.

29. AS. II. 54; Qazvīnī. 281a.

30. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 45; Qazvīnī. 281a.

Retreat of Prince Shujā : To add to this discomfiture there arose a dispute among the Mughal generals. As Khān Khānān and Khān Daurān were not on good terms with each other, the latter frequently gave out in assemblies that he had saved the life of Khān Khānān. At this Khān Khānān felt annoyed and humiliated. Moreover, the generals were accusing each other for failure. Most of the generals were not happy with Khān Khānān because of his roughness. The difference became so deep that Khān Khānān, in spite of best efforts, could not compose the quarrel. Meanwhile, the monsoon set in which made it extremely difficult for the Mughals to continue the offensive and hence the Mughal army had to abandon the idea of continuing the siege. It was under these circumstances that the Khān Khānān approached prince Shujā and sought his permission for retreat to Burhanpūr[31].

The prince at once called a meeting of the generals in his camp and after a long discussion, ordered a retreat to Burhanpūr. Thus, before the monsoon could completely set in the imperial army left Parenda on May 31, 1634, with all their elephants, camels and other belongings for Burhanpūr[32], without accomplishing anything tangible.

On the way towards Burhanpūr the enemy chased the imperial army and, as a result heavy fighting ensued. Khān Zamān, Rāo Satarsāl, Jograj and Rāo Karan attacked the enemy from one side while Asālat Khān and Khalīlullah Khān attacked from the rear and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy and compelled

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31. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 46; Qazvīnī. 282a; AS. II. 55; J. N. Sarkār "House of Shivājī". 39.

32. MU. II. 25; AS. II. 56.

them to fall back. Due to all these harassments the Mughal army was greatly disturbed and after regrouping themselves, they continued their retreat towards 'Burhanpūr'. The prince was very unhappy because he had to return to Burhanpūr without conquering the fort. In the meantime, a farmān came from the Emperor recalling Shāh Shujā to the capital and censuring the Khān Khānān for the failure. Thus ended Prince Shujā's maiden expedition in discomfiture, which any capable and energetic general could have accomplished[33].

The causes of Mughal failure at Parenda were many. Neither the Emperor, nor Prince Shujā was interested in this expedition. The unwilling Emperor consented to this expedition after Mahābat Khān had repeatedly pressed him and promised to bring the entire South under Mughal domination. Secondly, the young prince was neither tactful nor trained and experienced enough to lead such an expedition.

Only the personality and tactfulness of the prince could have overcome all the tricks of the enemy, faction and rivalry among his own generals by bringing cohesion and unity, but unfortunately the young prince at this time did not possess all these qualities of leadership. Moreover, he had no strong determination to successfully complete this expedition. As a result, he could not overcome the dissensions in the Mughal Camp and was easily moved by the advice of the generals to raise the seige and retreat to Burhanpūr. Thirdly, Mahābat Khān, an experienced and seasoned general though he was, totally proved his tactlessness and lack of commanding power for which he was rightly reprimanded by the Emperor. This proud and haughty general was disliked by the other

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33. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 46; AS. II. 57.

generals who formed a conspiracy to discredit him, and this was the main cause of Mughal failure. The old and veteran general, Mahābat Khān, was mortally humiliated for his sad failure and, being censured by the Emperor, sank into his grave within a few months (1634).

B. Prince Shujā's First Expedition to Qandahār :

The Province of Qandahār occupies the southern part of Afghānistan. The extensive net-work of hills centering round Thalchotiali separated it from India in the eastern side. On the south the impassable deserts of Baluchistan lie between it and India. The long hill ranges of Ghazni and Kabul separate it on the north. From the point of strategy Qandahār is very important[34]. The great Hindūkush range divides the Central Asia from Afghānistan, Baluchistan and India. But as in the north of Herat its height is formidable, the Central Asian invaders could easily march to take Kabul from the rear and strike India on her western flank[35]. Qandahār had also great commercial importance. In 1615, the English traveller Richard Steel noted that 14,000 camels laden with merchandise annually passed into Persia by this route. Qandahār had naturally, therefore, been a bone of contention between India and Persia for a long time[36].

In the early part of 16th Century the Shafvī dynasty of Persia and the Mughal dynasty of India were ruling contemporaneously. In 1522 Bābur finally wrested Qandahār from the Arghun, the Governor of Qandahār. After Bābur's death,

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34. Purchas. I. 519-28; Aurang. I. 126.

35. Holdich's "Gates of India". 528; Aurang. I. 128.

36. Purchas. I. 521-28; Aurang. I. 129.

it passed as an appanage to his younger son, Kamrān. Humāyūn, when fugitive from India, captured that fort from his brother Askari in 1545. But the news of Humāyūn's death had scarcely reached the northern provinces when Shāh Tahmasp, the Shāh of Persia, besieged and captured Qandahār and then gave it to his nephew Sultān Husain Mirzā (1558)[37]. Mirzā Muzaffar Husain, the successor of Sultān Husain, surrendered Qandahār to the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1594 and entered into Mughal service[38]. After Akbar's death Shāh Abbas of Persia tried to capture Qandahār during the reign of Jahāngīr[39]. In the year 1622 Shāh Abbas captured Qandahār from the Mughal Governor Abdul Azīz Khān after forty-five days' siege[40].

In February 1638, when Shāh Safī was on the throne of Persia, his able and efficient Governor of Qandahār, Ali Mardān Khān, surrendered Qandahār into Mughal hands and entered into imperial service of the Mughals[41]. On receipt of this intelligence the Persian Shāh despatched a strong force under the command of Siyaūsh. Emperor Shāhjahān at once sent a farmān to Syeed Khān, the Subedār

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37. Malleson "History of Afghānistan". 182; Aurang. I. 130.

38. Aurang. I. 130; but according to V. A. Smith the year was 1595 ('Akbar the Great', p. 186), K. R. Kanungo in 1596 ('Dārā Shukoh', 28) and Malleson in 1603 (History of Afghānistan. 197).

39. Malleson "History of Afghānistan", 199.

40. Aurang. I. 131; but according to Malleson Shāh captured it in 1622 from the Mughal Governor Ashraf Khān (History of Afghānistan. 200).

41. AA. I. 313-14, 409, 504; E & D. VI. 130; MU. II. 795-98; Malleson ("History of Afghānistan") 205. Aurang. I. 131.

of Kabul, to proceed towards Qandahār. The Emperor by another farmān honoured and elevated the rank of Fāzil Khān, the Mughal Viceroy of Multan, and ordered him to proceed towards Qandahār with all the troops at his disposal. He also ordered Yūsuf Muhammad Khān, the Subedār of Bhakkar, and Jānisār Khān, the Subedār of Sistan, to advance towards Qandahār. Finally, he appointed Prince Shujà as the supreme commander of the Qandahār campaign. The Emperor promoted the prince to the Command of 12,000 Zāt and 8,000 Sawār and sanctioned him five lakhs of rupees from the treasury of Kabul[42]. The prince was instructed to pay one lakh of rupees to Alī Mardān Khān, to spend two lakhs for his personal expense and the rest for his army. He was also directed that on the arrival of Fāzil Khān at Qandahār, the fort of Qandahār should be handed over to him and that thereupon he along with Alī Mardān Khān should return to the capital.

At the time of departure, Shujā was precisely instructed that if the Shāh of Persia should himself take the field, only then the prince should lead his army, otherwise he should send his generals against the generals of Persia[43]. The generals who accompanied the prince were Rājā Jai Singh, Nizābat Khān, Amar Singh, Mādho Singh, Lahrāsip, son of Mahābat Khān, Hari Singh, Kripārām, Zulfiqār Khān, Diyānat Khān, Hurbuz Khān, and Nazar Bahādur Khān. Khān-i-Daurān Nusrat Jang, the Governor of Mālwa, was put in charge of the above mentioned generals[44]. A farmān was sent to Vazīr Khān, the Governor of the Punjāb, to make arrangements for regular supply of rations to the imperial camp[45].

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42. AS. II. 274-75; Lāhorī. II. 35-36.
43. AS. II. 275.
44. Lāhorī. II. 37.
45. AS. II. 275.

When Syeed Khān reached near Qallat in the vicinity of Qandahār with Jagat Singh and 500 cavalry, he heard that Siyaūsh, the Persian general, had arrived about 12 miles from Qandahār. He also came to know that the inhabitants of the fort of Qandahār, though apparently showing their allegiance to Alī Mardān Khān, had been in secret correspondence with Siyaūsh[46]. Syeed Khān became alert and proceeded very cautiously towards the city of Qandahār and reached there on April 2, 1638[47]. Alī Mardān Khān heaved a sigh of relief when he heard that Sayeed Khān had reached Qandahār. In a farmān the Emperor instructed Syeed Khān that if Siyaūsh started looting and plundering the suburbs of Qandahār, he should immediately leave Qandahār in charge of Fāzil Khān and himself marched against the Irānīan troops. In the same farmān the Emperor informed the general that he was sending another twenty thousand troops under Prince Shujā. A sum of rupees twenty lakhs was sanctioned for the expedition and the prince was instructed to pay, out of this, five lakhs to Fāzil Khān, five lakhs to Jān-Sipar Khān, the Bakshi, and to keep the rest with himself for the expenses of the army. The emperor also repeated his instruction that if the Shāh of Persia should personally lead his army, then the prince should divide his army into five sections and himself should command the army in person. But unfortunately, this farman was seized by the people of Siyaūsh who were controlling all the road links. Siyaūsh at once forwarded the imperial farmān to the Shāh of Persia. It impressed the Irānīan ruler and he gave up the idea of personally coming to the battle field. Syeed Khān was greatly perturbed

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46. Ibid. 276; Lāhorī. II. 39.

47. AS. II. 275.

because Fāzil Khān had not yet reached Qandahār. Under the circumstances, he left his son, Mirzā Sheikh at Qandahār with 2000 troops and himself advanced with 3000 troops against the Irānīan general. Soon his strength increased by the arrival of another 8,000 imperial troops and then he gave the command of the first 3,000 troops to Husain Beg, the nephew (sister's son) of Alī Mardān Khān. The imperialists made a charge upon the Irānīans on April 11, 1638[48]. Alī Mardān Khān also joined Syeed Khān and the generals who accompanied Alī Mardān Khān were Muhkam Singh, Gopal Singh, Ugro Singh, Rām Singh, Jogrām, Jograj, Gaj Singh, Jagat Singh and other Rājpūts and also Abdul Wahid, Syeed Muhammad and Pordil Khān. Pahlawan Bahal-ud-din was in the charge of 300 gunners. The generals under Siyaūsh were Bairam Alī Khān, Qulī Khān, Alī Sultān, Safī Qulī Sultān, each of them being in-charge of five to six thousand cavalry. A fierce battle was fought and Rājā Jagat Singh of the imperial army showed special gallantry. The Mughal army was successful in burning the store of Siyaūsh. This was the main reason of defeat of the enemy and by the evening the battle field was cleared of the Irānīan army. In panic Siyaūsh attempted to cross the river in the darkness of night and got drowned in the river with some of his followers[49].

On April 13, 1638, Syeed Khān returned to Qandahār and informed the Emperor about the result of the war. Soon after, the Shāh of Persia sent an envoy, named Safdar Khān, to Syeed Khān. Safdar Khān told Syeed that the defeat had made the Shāh very unhappy, for he could forego Eerwār and Baghdād, but not

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48. Ibid. 275-77; Lāhorī. II. 40-41.

49. AS. II. 277-280; Lāhorī. II. 42-46.

Qandahār. So the Shāh was contemplating to send another expedition under Jāni Khān Korchi Bashi from Irāq and would also instruct the rulers of Khurasān and Herat to join forces with the general. Perhaps this plan of the Shāh was disclosed only to frighten the Mughal general. On receipt of this news from the Persian envoy, Syeed Khān decided to stay himself at Qandahār. He sent the detail to the Emperor and requested Shujā, who was staying at Kabul and was in command of the expedition, to despatch most of his troops from Kabul to Qandahār. This step was proposed by Syeed Khān both as a preventive measure, as well as a measure to frighten the Persian envoy. Perhaps discouraged by the recent defeat and frightened by the fresh Mughal preparations, the Shāh dared not continue the struggle. Thus the Mughal army succeeded in keeping off the Persian army from Qandahār and captured all the forts. The Prince Shujā then returned to the capital[50].

C. Prince Shujā's Expedition to Trans-Oxiana :

The Mughal rulers of India from the very beginning cherished the idea of recovering their ancestral dominions. Bābur was ready even to sacrifice his religious conscience in order to recover Samarqand and Bokhāra. Humāyūn was able to advance to Badshakhān. Akbar, due to the resistance of Abdulla Khān Uzbeg, could not proceed beyond the border of Subah 'Kabul'. Jahāngīr's ambition could not materialise due to the rebellion of Khusrav and his pre-occupation with internal affairs[51].

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50. Lāhorī. II. 274-77; 280; MA. 187b; MJ. 451a; TU. 48, 67, 78, 183, 199, 239.

51. Rushbrook William "An Empire Builder of 16th Century", 102; Tuzuk. I. 89.

Trans-Oxiana was ruled by the Astrokhan branch of the descendants of Changīz Khān. Yār Muhammad Khān and his son, Jānī Khān of this branch, after long obscurity, migrated to this country, probably pressed by the Russians. Yār Muhammad Khān was welcomed by Shaibanid Iskandar Khān with whom he, in 1567, established a matrimonial alliance. In 1611, Imām Qulī, a grandson of Yār Muhammad, ascended the throne of Samarqand and assigned Balkh to his brother Nazr Muhammad[52].

The relations of Imām Qulī with the ruler of India were more or less peaceful. But his brother Nazr Muhammad was not satisfied with the appanage of Balkh. He was restless and ambitious. With a view to exploit the opportunity created by the conflict in the Mughal Court at the death of Jahāngīr on the question of succession and the rising of the tribes, he planned to capture Kabul against the wishes and advice of his elder brother. Accordingly, he despatched an advance party under his son, Abdul Azīz and his tutor, Abdur Rahmān Bī. In May 1628, he personally led the army, but he failed to capture the fort of Kabul either by the sword or by means of bribery. He besieged the fort but was forced to raise the siege and retreat on the arrival of the imperial army under the generalship of Mahābat Khān in August 1628[53].

In spite of Nazr Muhammad's hostility, Emperor Shāhjahān maintained friendly relations with his brother Imām Qulī and despatched a mission to the Court of Bokhāra. From 1632 to 1639 relations between the Mughal Emperor and

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52. Lāhorī. I. Pt. II. 217; Qazvīnī. 162.

53. Lāhorī. I. Pt. II. 206-15; Qazvīnī. 155-58.

Nazr Muhammad were peaceful and they exchanged envoys regularly. In February 1639, Shāhjahān, at the head of a large army, reached Lahore in order to visit Kabul and attempted to collect intelligence about the roads and means of communication to Trans-Oxiana. The attitude of the Mughal Emperor frightened both Imām Qulī and Nazr Muhammad who proposed to co-operate with the Mughal in the conquest of Khurasan. But Shāhjahān, considering the time not suitable, gave a reply accordingly to the proposer and returned to Lahore in August 1639[54].

Within a few months there was a revolutionary change in Trans-Oxiana. Unfortunately, suddenly Imām Qulī was attacked with Opthalmia and lost his sight. Taking the opportunity, his unscrupulous and greedy brother captured the throne of Samarqand by force in October 1641. This created chaotic condition in the country which persisted for a long time[55]. Shāhjahān was carefully watching the political developments in Trans-Oxiana and he lost no time in taking advantage of this bitter and long-continued upheaval. In March 1645, he ordered Asālat Khān to lead an expedition in co-operation with Alī Mardān Khān; but this attempt proved abortive[56]. In the month of February 1646, Shāhjahān sent out an expedition under Prince Murād Bakhsh outwardly in support of Nazr Muhammad to suppress the disturbances but really to conquer Balkh and Badakhshān[57]. By means of a forced march the imperial army, in the month of July, reached within four miles of the town of Balkh and Nazr Muhammad

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54. Lāhorī. Vol. I. Pt. II. 231-37; 260-61, 431, 465-72; Vol. II. 139, 154; Qazvīnī. 165a-67b, 176b, 251b, 265a.

55. Lāhorī. II. 252-56.

56. Ibid. 417, 456-58.

57. Ibid. 530-32.

realised the real intention of the Mughals, but it was too late to resist them; so he fled away to Persia with his two sons and huge treasures[58]. Murād found Balkh a dull and uncongenial place and soon after, without taking any prior consent of the Emperor, left his command and returned to India. The Emperor, thereupon, sent Prince Aurangzeb in the place of Murād and Aurangzeb reached there in May 1647[59].

The return of Murād, the revolt of the Uzbegs and the new developments in Balkh disturbed the mind of Shāhjahān. The Emperor, in order to tackle the situation, issued a farman to Shujā instructing him to proceed towards Kabul and it reached the latter on September 14, 1646. Accordingly, Shujā handed over the administration of Bengal and Orissa to I'tiqād Khān and started from his capital in March 1647[60]. On April 15, 1647, Shāhjahān ordered Multafat Khān to proceed towards Attock in order to receive Shujā and to accompany him to Kabul[61]. Sa'dulla Khān was ordered to receive the prince at Kabul who reached there on May 29, and to hand over the presents of the Emperor. At the same time Rājā Jai Singh reached Kabul from the Deccan with a treasury of 120 lakhs of rupees which he handed over to Shujā[62]. On July 18, the Emperor reached the camp of Shujā at Kabul when the latter presented to his Majesty, diamonds and some precious products of Bengal, valued at about 3,20,000 rupees and got in

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58. Ibid. 525-55.

59. Ibid. 613-24.

60. Ibid. 583.

61. Ibid. 640.

62. AS. II. 560-61.

return one lakh in cash, diamonds, an Arabian horse, and robes of honour. On July 28, the Emperor left Kabul for Lahore. At the time of his departure, he appointed Shujā as the Governor of Kabul. The Emperor also instructed Shujā to maintain regular contact with Aurangzeb at the head of the expedition and not to leave Kabul until the return of Aurangzeb to Kabul. He also appointed Nizāmat Khān to serve under Shujā[63].

Abdul Azīz, the rebellious general of Nazr Muhammad, mustered about 1,20,000 men and offered resistance to Aurangzeb and Alī Mardān Khān. But the strong determination of the imperialists forced Abdul Azīz to sue for peace. Shāhjahān also realised the impossibility of holding Balkh and, frightened at the approach of the terrific winter and lack of supply, agreed to the proposal. Aurangzeb left Balkh on October 3, 1647, and reached Kabul on November 6[64]. Shujā asked Aurangzeb to wait there till receipt of further orders from the capital and himself returned with his son, Zain-ul-ābidīn, to Akbarabad on Friday, October 27, 1648. He presented to the Emperor 1,000 mohars, and two decorated elephants and was for the second time posted as the Subedār of Bengal and Orissa[65].

D. Prince Shujā's Second Expedition to Qandahār :

The Shāh of Persia could not forget the loss of Qandahār in 1638 but for the time being he did nothing to recover it as he was busy with Murād IV of Turkey. Soon he patched up a treaty with Turkey and ordered Rustam Khān

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63. Ibid. III. 2, 6; Wāris. 6b, 8a.

64. AS. III. 16.

65. Ibid. 20; MA. 194a; Wāris. 18a-b; but according to Tāhir Shujā returned to the capital on December 19, 1647 (SN. 28a).

to march to Khurāsān and to collect and enlist soldiers in order to make a fresh asault. But the sudden death of the Shāh on May 2, 1642, upset the entire scheme. Shāh Safī was succeeded by his minor son Shāh Abbas II and during his time, Sārū Taqī, the wazir, ordered Rustam Khān to reassemble troops to recover Qandahār. But the timely arrival of Dārā Shukoh at the head of a large army frustrated the Shāh. After this until 1648 no further attempt was made by the Persians, because during this period of Shāh's minority the ministers were busy in faction fights for the control of the state power. In 1648 Shāh Abbas II came of age and assumed control of his Government. He was brave and ambitious and wanted to signalise his reign by a bold foreign policy. Moreover, his prestige demanded that he should recover Qandahār and for that purpose he made his preparations in great secrecy. The Shāh took all kinds of precautionary measures and then in December 1648, invested the fort of Qandahār.

On receipt of this news Shāhjahān wanted to march towards Qandahār forthwith, but as the winter was severe there he was stopped by his ministers. But the Emperor proceeded to Kabul to have further detailed information. Alī Mardān's attempt to save the fort by despatching 5,000 troops proved futile. After resistance for about two months the imperialists surrendered in February 1649. When Shāhjahān got the details from Daulat Khān, he ordered Aurangzeb and Sa'dulla Khān to advance at the head of 50,000 troops to repel the Persians. In the middle of May 1649, the imperial army reached Qandahār and immediately engaged the enemy. Fighting between the two forces continued till the approach of winter when the imperialists were forced to raise the siege and to retreat from Qandahār on September 3, 1649. Thus the first attempt proved abortive.

The attempt on Qandahār which was abandoned in 1649, was reopened again in 1652. In the month of August 1651, while the Emperor was returning from Kashmīr, he decided to launch another attack on Qandahār and for this purpose summoned Shujā from Bengal. At the same time, Rājā Jaswant Singh, Rājā Jai Singh, Rustam Khān, Allawardī Khān, Rājā Vithaldās and others were ordered to reach the Court by January 20, 1652[66]. Nizāmat Khān was also ordered by the Emperor to proceed towards Kabul in order to join Shujā on his arrival[67]. Shujā reached Kabul on April 17, 1652, and was received there by Amīr-ul-Umarā, Iti'qād Khān, Mīr Bakshī[68]. The Emperor had arrived at Kabul before Shujā, on April 4, 1652. Shujā met the Emperor and presented to him twenty elephants, and the best things of Bengal valued at about 3,60,000 rupees[69].

This time also Aurangzeb and Sa'dullah Khān were ordered to lay the siege which was done on May 2, 1652. All attempts of Aurangzeb to capture Qandahār either by force or by gold proved futile and, being tired after a prolonged war, he wanted to return. The permission of the Emperor was received and Prince Aurangzeb returned to Kabul on August 7, 1652. During this campaign Shujā had all along been with his father at Kabul waiting for any kind of service. According to a farmān issued from Kabul on August 2, 1652, the

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66. Wāris. 96a; SN. 14b; TSC. 98; MD. III. 213b.

67. SN. 16a.

68. Ibid. 123b; Wāris. 113a; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal". II. 229.

69. For Shujā's presents, AS. III. 146.

Emperor appointed Shujā as the Governor of Bengal and Orissa, and presented the prince with diamonds, precious stones and cash, in all valued about two lakhs of rupees[70].

Now the entire imperial train started their return journey from Kabul towards Agra. When they reached near the river Nilab, it was in high flood. The Emperor ordered that the river should be bridged, but at that moment it was difficult to bridge the river and it required time. The 'valiant' Shujā became impatient and on September 14, 1652, crossed the river on the back of his horse at a great personal risk before the bridge was constructed. Aurangzeb and Shāhjahān crossed it on 21st and 23rd respectively (of the same month) after the bridge had been constructed[71]. Thus the second attempt to capture Qandahār also ended in fiasco, costing the Mughal treasure several crores.

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70. AS. III. 149.

71. Ibid; SN. 132a; Wāris. 120b; TSC. 78.

CHAPTER IV.

PRINCE SHUJĀ AS THE VICEROY OF BENGAL

Condition of Bengal before the Arrival of Shujā :

Long before the arrival of Shujā, Bengal was in a state of instability and confusion. Formerly, the Viceroys used to be transferred very frequently and none got sufficient time, nor had any ability, to establish a strong administration. On the other hand, the Portuguese and Magh raiders had been creating a reign of terror in lower Bengal and near the mouth of the river Huglī. Taking advantage of the miserable plight of the imperialists in Bengal, the rulers of Cooch Bihār and Assam gravely menaced the imperial administration in Bengal and the local Zamīndārs also were not idle in exploiting the situation.

The political, social and economic conditions of Bengal greatly deteriorated after the accession of the Emperor Shāhjahān and specially from the time of the Mughal Governor Qasim Khān. Qasim Khān was however successful in crushing the turbulent Portuguese traders. But his successor Azam Khān was totally unequal to the problems that he had to face and, as a result, the entire province was in a state of chaos. Islām Khān was the only capable Governor to grapple with the various problems but he got very little time to bring to book all kinds of disturbing elements. The most menacing of the problems were the piracies of the Portuguese, incursions of the Assamese, revolt of Cooch Bihār and the raids of the Maghs.

"Under the rule of the Bengalis, a party of Frank merchants, who are inhabitants of Sundip, came trading to Sātgāon[1]. One Kos above the place, they

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1. "Now an inconsiderable village on the small creek of the river Huglī, about 4 miles north-west of Huglī, was in 1566, and probably later, a large trading city, in which the European traders had their factories in Bengal". James Rennel. P.57.

occupied some ground on the bank of the estuary"[2]. For their trading facilities, they erected several houses in Bengali style. In course of time, through the ignorance and indifference of the rulers of Bengal, these Europeans increased in numbers, grew insolent and oppressive, and erected large and strong buildings, which they fortified with cannon, muskets and other armaments. In due course, the place thus grew in importance and became known by the name of the port of 'Hugli'. On one side of it was the river and on the other three sides was a ditch filled with river water. European ships used to go up to the port, and trade flourished there[3]. As it was situated at the entrance of the commercial highway of Bengal, it soon became the richest and the most flourishing port in that region. Here vessels used to come from other parts of India, from China, the Moluccas and Manilla and the Mughal, Persian and Armenian traders carried on a brisk trade[4]. The Portuguese obtained a monopoly of the salt trade from the Mughal Government for which the former used to pay 10,000 tankas to the imperial treasury. The Mughal Viceroys never interfered in their internal affairs[5].

The Portuguese were thus plying a vigorous trade from their Hugli port. But they were not content with trade only. In collusion with the Portuguese pirates of Chittagong, they secured control of the neighbouring seas, entered into this country through the numerous branches of the Ganga and started

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2. Tidal wave.

3. Lāhorī. Vol. I. P. 434-35; E & D. Vol. VII. P. 31-32; Qazvīnī. f. 252.

4. Manrique. Vol. II. P. 392.

5. Ibid. P. 393.

ravaging the islands of lower Bengal. They also frequently penetrated forty or fifty leagues within the country and carried away the entire population of the villages on market days or the persons assembled for a marriage ceremony or during any other festival. The victims were sold as slaves in the different markets of Orissa and South India[6]. Thus the activities of the Portuguese constituted a direct challenge to the Mughal administration. Moreover, Shāhjahān hated the Portuguese of Hugli, for when he fled to Bengal as a rebel prince, the Portuguese betrayed him[7].

Shāhjahān, upon his accession, ordered Qasim Khān, the Viceroy of Bengal, to exterminate the pernicious intruders (1632). Qasim Khān in a planned way encircled them in Hugli by blocking all the river and land routes. The seige by the imperial army lasted for nearly three months and a half[8]. "From the beginning of the seige to the conclusion, men and women, old and young, altogether nearly 10,000 of the enemy, were killed, being either blown up with powder, drowned in water, or burnt by fire. Nearly 1,000 brave warriors of the imperial army obtained the glory of martyrdom. 4,400 Christians of both sexes were taken prisoners, and nearly 10,000 inhabitants of the neighbouring country who had been kept in confinement by these tyrants were set at liberty"[9]. Thus Hugli was cleared of the pirates and Bengal was saved from the depredation of the Portuguese ravages.

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6. Bernier (Const.). Pt. I. P. 174-76; Qazvīnī. f. 252b; E & D. Vol. VII, p.32.
7. Saksena "Shāhjahān of Delhi", P. 106.
8. E & D. Vol. VII. P. 107-112.
9. Ibid. P. 35.

After Qasim Khān's death Azam Khān was appointed as the Viceroy of Bengal in the year 1632-33 and he was the worst of all the Viceroys. During his time the Assamese incursion and the Arakanese raids reached in the peak. He totally failed to give protection to his subjects from these dangers and, as a result, the entire country fell into confusion. In the year 1638 he was recalled to the Court and replaced by a powerful Viceroy, named Islām Khān[10].

Islām Khān was a vigorous and powerful administrator and with an iron hand he suppressed the Assamese incursion and the revolt of the 'Koch' King. The King of Assam, encouraged by his previous depredations, renewed his attack, rushed like a torrent on the plains of Bengal and plundered the towns and villages. The Viceroy led an expedition against the Assamese and the 'Koch' King, chastised them and recovered the imperial Mahals by extirpating the refractory Assamese. But at that very moment Islām Khān was recalled to the imperial capital and Prince Shujā was appointed to that post[11].

Prince Shujā's Appointment as the Viceroy of Bengal :

Prince Shujā returned from Qandahār to Lahore on June 23, 1638, after successfully repelling the Persian attack[12]. In the month of April 1639, he was appointed as the Viceroy of Bengal[13]. Saif Khān, the Subedār of Akbarābād

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10. Riyāz. P-211-12; In Sarkār's "History of Bengal", Vol. II. P. 271-72.

11. Lāhorī. Vol. II. P. 163, 274-75; Riyāz. P. 212.

12. Dow - "History of Hindūstan". Vol. III. p. 164.

13. ZA. P. 10; Poem. P. 14; KT. p. 487; IGB. Vol. I. P. 24; EFI. X. P.2; Careri. P. 222; Burgess. P. 92; J. N. Sarkār's "History of Bengal". II. p. 332. But J. N. Sarkār in his Aurangzeb, Vol. V. P. 296 stated that Shujā was Viceroy of Bengal from February 1639 to May 1660 with two years absence.

was despatched to Bengal in advance to receive the prince and apprise him of the Bengal situation[14]. After his arrival at Bengal, Shujā had to face tremendous problems. The Arakanese raiders were not at all subdued, the Assamese were once again contemplating fresh attack upon the imperial domain and the local Zamīndārs were also in a state of turbulence. Shujā, soon after his arrival at Bengal, decided to shift his capital from Dācca to Rājmahal for personal and political reasons[15]. Firstly, the climate of Dācca did not suit him and the members of his family[16]. Secondly, this eastern capital was exposed to the frequent incursions of the Maghs, Portuguese raiders and the Ahoms. So he decided to transfer his capital to Rājmahal on the Ganga which was safe on both the grounds. Eastern Bengal was to be administered with the help of a Deputy at Dācca[17].

Rājmahal Palace of Shujā :

Rājmahal stands near the border of Bengal and Bihār and on the bank of the river Ganga. So, it was more healthy as well as safer from external aggression than Dācca. Mān Singh first made it the capital of Bengal but it

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14. AS. Vol. II. P. 300; Lāhorī. Vol. II. P. 130; E & D. Vol. III. P. 73.

15. Dani, A. H. "Dācca - a record of its changing fortunes". P. 29; CR. Vol. 36. P. 122; Montague "History of Bengal". P. 53; Steward "History of Bengal". P. 282; Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. P. 332; Riyāz. 214, J.B.O.R.S. 1929. P. 544; K. Mazumdar "Mymensing-er-Itihas". P. 62; R. Chakraborty "Gour-er-Itihas", Vol. II. P. 295.

16. Aurang. Vol. V. P. 296; FQ. 7; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. P. 334.

17. Dani - "Dācca - a record ~~and~~ of its changing ~~faces~~ fortune". P. 29; A. Karim "Dācca the Mughal Capital". P. 51; Aurang. Vol. V. P. 296.

was abandoned by the later Viceroys who established their head-quarters at Dācca. After a long interval Shujā once more made Rājmahal the centre of politics of Eastern India and renovated and adorned it with new buildings and edifices.

Prince Shujā built a palace in a planned way over a spacious area. Its gardens and water reservoirs were surrounded by a sturdy wall. There were two large and excellent gateways. Near the eastern gateway there was a Court in the centre of which was an octagonal water reservoir from where water was carried to the palace from the reservoir through a narrow canal made of brick. A little distance from this reservoir there was a small gateway leading to another square-shaped Court. Two-storeyed brick buildings surrounded the three sides of the great Court of the palace. In the middle of these buildings, there was a great central building with two great wings connected by four lower ranges. This central building had before it a terrace and in the middle of this terrace there was a reservoir.

The great central building was most ornamental. The upper storey was divided into three apartments. Each of the great wings on the upper floor was divided into three chambers. The smaller buildings connecting the larger buildings in the centre were subdivided into a large number of apartments. A row of apartments were on the northern border of the main building extending upto the river with terrace over-looking the Ganga. There was a great well, well-lined with bricks at the eastern end of the row of buildings and through this well river water was lifted mechanically to ensure supply to the palace.

There was another court at the entrance of the second gate on the west of the reservoir. On the two sides of this court there were many huts or small buildings for the residence of soldiers. On the northern side of this court there was a gate. Just beyond this gate, there was another great court, with an elevated terrace facing the gate. On this terrace was located the 'Dēwān Khana' where Shujā and his officers used to sit to administer justice, transact business and give audience. A low terrace extended from the back of the Dēwān Khana to the river and at its east end there was a descent by a small stair. There was a low range of buildings on the western side of the court of the 'Dēwān Khana'. These buildings were connected with a two-storeyed building. At a remote distance from the river and opposite to this building, there was another building surrounded by walls; it was used as the abode of the ladies. Towards the river this interior court had two small but pretty buildings. One of these was highly finished, 18' ft. by 12' ft. in the inside and used as an auditorium. West of this auditorium and just on the bank of the river, there was a building where the prince and his ladies used to sit while enjoying the fresh air from the river[18].

At a little distance in the south-west from the building there was a garden. It consisted of five quadrangles, each of which, except the fourth, was built and walled with stone. In the central quadrangle there was a two-storeyed, stately banqueting house paved with marble and in the central banqueting room, which was the biggest, there was a marble table about three

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18. M. Martin "The History of Antiquities, Topography of Eastern India", Vol. II. P. 70-76; Valentyn - Vol. V. Pt. I. P. 148-49; De Graaf. P. 48-49.

inches thick, seven feet long and four feet broad. The other quadrangles were enclosed with brick and stone. The size of the four quadrangles was (i) 200 yards long and 80 yards broad; (ii) 130 yards long and 80 yards broad, (iii) 100 yards long and 80 yards broad, (iv) 50 yards long and 50 yards broad. The two bigger quadrangles were mahals for women. On the south-west border was the Rājmahal hill and on the lap of the hill was the castle of the prince with three small courts with a good number of small rooms. There was a fine apartment in the middle of these small rooms with a round turret at each end with three windows for fitting cannon. There was enough room on the top of the apartment for 70 to 80 cannons and for twice as many small guns or muskets. The cost of construction of the buildings, gardens, etc. was nearly twenty-five lakhs of rupees. The cost of construction of the garden including the five quadrangles was nine lakhs of rupees and the rest cost about sixteen lakhs of rupees[19].

Fire at Rājmahal Palace :

On January 30, 1640[20], a great fire broke out in the town of Akbarnagar (Rājmahal Palace) which spread quickly because of a favourable gusty wind and gutted the palace of Shujā. The curtains of the verandah and the chambers in the building also caught fire. The wooden beams of the roof began to burn. The prince for the sake of safety attempted to go to the palace from the privy-chamber but the door between the privy-chamber and the palace also caught fire.

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19. John Marshall. 70-71, 116-17, 119; JBORS. 1929. P. 544-45; CR. Vol. 36. P. 122-24.

20. AS. Vol. II. P. 316; MD. Vol. III. 169a; According to Mirāt-i-Ālam the fire broke out on January 9, 1640, MA. 189a.

So both the exit from as well as the entrance to the privy-chamber were closed. Within the twinkling of an eye the fire engulfed the entire building around the privy-chamber. In a desparate mood the prince rushed to the roof of the 'Jharoka' and ordered for the ladder. The people who were still within the privy-chamber, being informed of this fire, quickly gathered round the prince. After the ladder was placed, Prince Shujā first came down. After him his servants and the other inmates of the palace also tried to come down. But soon the fire reached the chamber of the Jharoka and the ladder caught fire. The persons who were still on the Jharoka and could not come down for want of passage, desperately jumped from it. As a result, most of them sustained injuries. Seventy-five domestic servants were burnt alive. The fire destroyed the treasury, the drug house, the store house and most of the 'Karkhanas'. On receipt of this dreadful news, Emperor Shāhjahān sent two lakhs worth of gold, jewels, etc. and two lakhs in cash for administrative expenditure and one lakh rupees in cash to purchase garments for the members of the affected families[21].

Expedition to Tripura and Relations with Assam and Cooch Bihār :

The position of Tripura was strong and secure by reason of the abundance of its trees, the loftiness of its forts and difficulty of its road system. As a result, Kalyan Manikya was proud of his strength and without any let or hindrance practised conch-blowing and idol worship[22]. Emperor Shāhjahān coveted the elephants of Tripura. So he despatched a sufficient number of cavalry and infantry to Bengal and instructed Shujā to secure elephants from

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21. AS. II. 316; MD. III. 169a; Lāhorī. II. 177-78; MA. 189a.

22. BPP. 1950. P. 1. (Trans : Naubahar-i-Murshid Qulī Khān).

the Rājā of Tripura as a tribute. The combined forces of Agra and Bengal marched towards the capital of Tripura under Shujā's Chief Minister, Jān Beg Khān, and encamped near Kailar Garh[23]. Maharājā Kalyan Mānikya in person together with his eldest son Gobinda Deva and the other generals, advanced to the fort of Kailar Garh. The cannon balls of the imperial army were falling upon the fort thick and fast and this frightened the enemy. But soon the enemy attacked ferociously the imperial troops and shattered them[24]. The Mughal general Jān Beg Khān, even after one year's effort, failed to take any of the fort of that country and at last contented himself by annexing the district of Mirzāpur which ultimately became the frontier of the imperial dominions. By this time many imperial soldiers had died of disease from the bad climate and when the news reached Shujā, he recalled his army[25]. So the Mughal attempt to capture Tripura, which was the first, as well as the last, was foiled due partly to the inefficiency of the imperial general and partly to the valour of the Tripura army. The unfavourable climate also added to the disadvantage of the Mughal army.

Islām Khān, the predecessor of Shujā, had brutally reduced the turbulent Assamese and the Koch King. After that to the outbreak of the fratricidal civil war for the peacock throne during the illness of Shāhjahān in the year 1657, the Assamese and the Koches remained uniformly peaceful and subservient to the Mughal Emperor[26]. The King of Kāmrūp and Kachhar paid

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23. A hill fortress near the capital. Rājmala. Vol. III. 224.

24. Rājmala. III. 224.

25. BPP. 1950. P. 1 (Trans : Naubahar-i-Murshid Qulī Khān).

26. JASB. 1872. Pt. I. P. 63 (Trans : FI); FQ. 9.

tribute to the Viceroy of Bengal[27]. Shujā in a letter to the Emperor stated that "The chiefs of Morang and Kachar who have not paid Peshkash (tribute) to any predecessor of mine as Governor of Bengal - have repeatedly professed obedience and good-will and behaved loyally. They have presented several elephants and shown good-will and absolute loyalty"[28].

Shujā before marching towards the imperial capital to fight for the throne, withdrew most of the Mughal soldiers from the border posts to strengthen his own army. The ambitious and freedom-loving rulers of Cooch Bihār, Kachar and Kāmrūp did not fail to utilise this opportunity. Pran Nārāyan[29], the Rājā of Cooch Bihār, determined to throw off the Mohammadan yoke and gave the lead. He made raids into Ghoraghat[30]. While the two local chiefs fled and took shelter with Jayadhvajj Singh, King of Kāmrūp. Pran Nārāyan then sent his army under his Wazīr Bhawanath to capture Kāmrūp but he was defeated by Jayadhvajj. Jayadhvajj, finding the circumstances favourable, collected a large force and advanced towards Gauhati. Mīr Lutfullah, the faujdār of Kāmrūp and Koch Hājo, being frightened, fled towards Dācca, leaving behind all their belongings

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27. FQ. 9.

28. PIHC. Vol. XI. 140.

29. AB. 158; Gait "History of Assam". 126; According to FI the name of the King was Bhim Nārāyan which is not correct. JASB. 1872. Pt. I. 63. The correct name is available in the Assam and Cooch Bihār Chronicles. Bhim Nārāyan, Pran Nārāyan's paternal uncle never came to power. BKK. Vol. I. 653; Aurang. Vol. III. 155.

30. FI. 63. But according to Gait it was Goal-Para. Gait "History of Assam". P. 126.

including armaments. The Assamese then overthrew the Koch aggressor and drove them beyond the river Sankosh and brought the entire Western Brahmaputra Valley including Karibari and Hatsilah Parganas under their occupation. The Assamese remained undisturbed in their possessions for three years till the expedition of Mir Jumla in the year 1661[31].

Relations with Arakan and the Pirates :

From the time of the annexation of Bengal to the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar till the conquest of Chātgāon by Shaista Khān during the rule of Aurangzeb, both the Arakanese and Feringi pirates frequently raided Eastern Bengal and sometimes appeared on the out-skirts of Dācca[32]. A vivid picture of the activities of the pirates is available from the description of the contemporary historian, Shihab-ud-din Tālish : "The Arakan pirates, both Magh and Feringi, used constantly to come by the water route and plunder Bengal. They carried off the Hindūs and Muslims that they could seize, pierced the palms of their hands, passed thin strips of cane through the holes and threw them huddled together under the decks of their ships. Every morning they flung down some uncooked rice to the captives from above, as we fling grain to fowl. On reaching home the pirates employed some of the hardy men that survived such treatment in tillage and other degrading pursuits. The others were sold to the Dutch, English and French merchants at the ports of the Deccan. Sometimes they brought their captives to the ports of Tamluk and Baleshwar for sale at high prices. ..... As they continually practised raids

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31. JASB. 1872. Pt. I. 63; AB. 158; LB. 190; BKK. Vol. I. 653-56; Aurang. Vol. III. 154-56; PAB. 115-19. Gait "History of Assam". 126.

32. SAR. 183.

for a long time, Bengal daily became more and more desolate and less and less able to resist them. Not a house was left inhabited on either side of the rivers lying on their track from Chātgāon to Dācca. The district of Bakla (i.e., Bakharganj and part of Dācca), which formerly abounded in houses and cultivated fields and yielded a large revenue as duty on betel-nuts, was swept so clean with their broom of plunder and abduction that none was left to tenant any house or kindle a light in that region"[33].

The predecessors of Shujā failed to check permanently the inroads of the Magh and Feringi pirates who almost devastated Eastern Bengal specially the Bakharganj and Noakhali districts. Shujā after his arrival at Bengal was determined to suppress these sea rovers. To protect the Bakharganj district from the raids of the pirates, Shujā erected a series of forts at Sujābad[34], Rupasia near Jhalakathi and Indrapasa near Rājāpur. Shujā defeated the Arakanese pirates in a battle at Sujābad. Since then till the fall of the prince there was no major operation of the pirates against imperial territory. Yet the presence of Arakanese and Feringi ships, however few in number, created panic not only among the peace-loving people but also among the soldiers of the Bengal Navy[35].

Shujā after his defeat in the battle of Khajwa in January 5, 1659, was hotly chased by Mīr Jumla and at last he reached his eastern capital, Dācca.

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33. Aurang. Vol. III. 197-99.

34. "A small village in Thana Nalchhiti, about 5 miles south-west of Barisal on the north bank of the Nalchhiti river. It derives its name from Shāh Shujā, the ill-fated brother of Aurangzeb". DGB. 161.

35. SAR. 185; JASB. 1907. Vol. III. 423.

Finding no alternative, he begged Sanda Thudhamma, the pirate King of Arakan for shelter, which was granted and a fleet was sent to escort the fugitive[36]. Shujā's life in Arakan has been separately dealt in detail in Chapter IX.

Shujā's Relations with the European Traders :

During the long tenure of Shujā's viceroyalty various European merchants came to Bengal for trade and commerce. Most of the trading companies got favourable treatment from the prince and, as a result, foreign trade and commerce expanded remarkably.

Relations with the English : The Portuguese and the Dutch traders had come to Bengal long before the English. From the beginning of the 17th century the English were trying hard to expand their trade and commerce to the Coromandal Coast. But when efforts proved unfruitful, the agent and the factors at St.George were forced to look abroad in the hope of discovering new openings and with the permission of Emperor Shāhjahān the first English factory was established at Balasore in Orissa in the year 1634. The later expansion of English trade and commerce in Bengal is closely associated, according to the European contemporary and later writers[37], with the interesting exploits of Dr. Gabriel Boughton. The story runs thus :- In the 10th year of Shāhjahān's reign (1636) Jahānārā, the eldest daughter of the Emperor, was badly burnt owing to an accident. While the royal physicians failed to cure her, a message was sent to Sūrat desiring

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36. Careri. 229; Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 85; Bowrey. 140; Phayre "History of Burma", 178.

37. EFI. VII. P. XXXV; Stewart "History of Bengal", 284; W. W. Hunter "History of Orissa", Vol. I. 179; W. W. Hunter "History of India", Vol. III. 234.

the assistance of an European Surgeon. Dr. Gabriel Boughton, the surgeon of the English ship "Hopewell" was at once sent to the imperial Court and he was successful in curing the princess. The Emperor became very glad and wanted to favour him with anything he desires. The doctor demanded nothing for himself, but requested the Emperor to favour his countrymen by permitting them to trade duty-free in Bengal and to establish factories there. This privilege was granted to the English[38].

But the Persian sources are silent about this story. Moreover, according to Lāhorī Jahānārā was burnt on March 26, 1644 and she was cured by a Persian physician and the royal physician Hakim Mumanna[39]. Though the story of Dr. Boughton is open to doubt, it cannot be denied that Shāhjahān granted a farman on November 3, 1637, permitting the English to trade in Bengal. The farmān of Shāhjahān, dated November 3, 1637, runs thus "As the English merchants of Sūrat and Broach pay there the customary duties and hold a farmān from His Majesty to the effect that no one shall make any other demands in respect of their goods in any place, ... the Officers (Tajganj) Agra were forbidden to demand the same payments from them on their goods brought from and taken to Purab (i.e., Bengal) as are paid by other merchants. They must be allowed to pass freely over the Jamuna ferry at Agra and other places"[40].

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38. EFI. VII. P. XXXV; Wilson "Early Annals of the English in Bengal", Vol. I. 48; Wheeler "Early Records of British in India", 150; Crewford "Hugly", 13.

39. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 363-69; KK. Vol. I. 598-600; Aurang. Vol. I. 72-75.

40. Aurang. Vol. V. 290.

In the year 1647, Dr. Boughton came to the Court of Prince Shujā, the Viceroy of Bengal. It is also said that at Rājmahal, the doctor cured a favourite member of the prince's harem. As a result, Boughton gained an honoured position in the Court as well as a great influence with Shujā[41].

On August 11, 1650, an English man named Davidge secured a farmān from the Emperor "to release the English from the payment of road dues on their goods collected in Oudh, Agra, etc., and sent down to the west coast for shipment; it could not have been intended at Delhi to excuse them for paying the usual customs duties on goods shipped from the Bengal ports"[42]. But this farmān for Bengal only granted exemption from road dues on goods passing down from Oudh, Agra and other places to the ports of Bengal, but said nothing about tolls levied at Patna on those carried down by water. Barckhout, who was at once sent to Delhi to rectify the defects was refused an audience for want of proper official authority as well as for want of sufficient presents[43].

On August 13, 1651, James Bridgeman, obtained a 'nishan' (order) from Shujā on condition to pay Rs. 3,000/- yearly[44]. According to English traders that farmān freed them from all demands in Bengal[45]. The Nishan is reproduced

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41. EFI. VII. P. XXXVI; Wilson "Early Annals of English in Bengal", Vol. I. 24; I.A. 1911. P. 35 (Extract from St. Fort George Record).

42. EFI. X. 109.

43. Ibid. IX. P. XII.

44. Ibid. P. XXVI; Wilson "Early Annals of English in Bengal", Vol. I. 48; Hunter "Annals of Rural Bengal", Vol. VIII. 245; Broome "History of Bengal Army", Vol. I. 6.

45. EFI. X. P. 110. Aurang. Vol. V. 253, 260.

below :

"Folio No. 6 - Copy of a Nishan from Sultān Shujā dated 6 Ramzān in the twenty-fifth year, A.H. 1061 (13th August, 1651 A.D.). It has been represented to His Highness that the goods of the English Company are by an imperial farmān exempt from duties, but that nevertheless the Mutasaddis of Balasore and other ports of Orissa molest the merchants on that account, hindering them from buying and selling, and giving them trouble on the roads. His Highness now orders that none of the officials shall demand any duties from them, either at the ports or on the roads, nor obstruct them in any way[46]." W. Foster rightly holds that "The obvious intention of the latter document[47] was merely to release the English from the payment of road-dues on their goods collected in Oudh, Agra, etc. it could not have been intended at Delhi to excuse them from paying the usual customs duties on goods shipped from the Bengal ports. Nevertheless, Bridgeman succeeded, by giving a present of 3,000 rupees in obtaining a Nishan from Sultān Shujā which adopted the English contention that the imperial farmān had freed them from all demands in Bengal"[48].

But some of the authorities[49] are doubtful about the contents of the farmān, because the original Nishan is not available as it was lost by Paul Weldegrave. In the year 1654 when the united Company broke up, Paul Weldegrave, the Chief of Bengal factors, while proceeding overland from Balasore to

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46. EFI. X. 415.

47. Imperial farmān of August, 1650.

48. EFI. X. 109.

49. SM. Vol. I. 31; EFI. IX. P. XXVII; Hunter "Annals of Rural Bengal", Vol. VII. 246.

Massulipattam, was robbed on the way and lost the prince's Nishan along with some other licences. However, on the basis of the above mentioned Nishan factories were established at Hugli, Patna and Kashimbazar. According to the traditional account[50] Shāh Shujā permitted Boughton to carry on personal trade free of customs and other duties and issued two Nishans to that effect but the privilege was not extended to the English nationals in general[51]. But the English Company and its servants continued their custom-free trade and this was possible presumably due to the factors making out that their goods belonged to Boughton.

However, the Company continued its trade without the Nishan; and as the volume of trade was small the Mughal officials did not greatly bother about customs duties and at times when difficulties were raised, those were removed by presents and bribes. Soon the situation changed with the arrival of private ships of the English in considerable number when it became difficult to escape the payment of duties. So, in the spring of 1656, Thomas Billidge of the newly named 'Mawrice Thompson Company', was sent to obtain a fresh Nishan from Prince Shujā, who always favoured the English traders[52].

Mr. Billidge took with him James Price, the late Boughton's servant, who was acquainted with the Prince's Court and who agreed to solicit for a fresh licence for the Company. They went from Balasore to Rājmahal on April 6, 1656 and ultimately succeeded in securing a fresh Nishan[53] for the English which runs

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50. EFI. X. 414.

51. Ibid. 113-14.

52. Ibid. 110.

53. Hedges. Vol. I. 99; SM. Vol. II. 21; EFI. X. 111.

thus "Be it known to the present and future Mutsaddis (accountants) and managers of affairs, Jagirders, rahalars[54], Guzarbands[55], Chaukidars and the guards of imperial high ways extending from Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) to the boundaries of the provinces of Bengal and Orissa, and the parts of the said provinces, that now Mr. Thomas Billidge through the courtiers has presented to His Highness that, although the goods of the English Company are exempted from duties, in accordance with the inexorable commands, throughout His Majesty's dominions, still in some places they (the officials) open them to purchase by force, and prevent the local traders from dealing with them (the English Company); they realise four per cent from the gumastas (factors) of the English, and make a demand for anchorage as well. His Highness now orders that according to the commands of His Majesty, none shall molest the gumastas of the English on account of anchorage etc. They (the officials) shall not open the goods of the English either on roads or on ferries, to buy them forcibly. Considering their goods as exempted from duties on the strength of the said commands, no impediments shall be offered to the gumastas of the English in any circumstances in passing them; so that they may, with their minds at ease, bring the goods from the neighbouring ports and sell them to local traders and such other persons as are acquainted with them and willingly desire to have transactions with them. Every assistances shall be given to the gumastas of the English in whatever place they store their goods and sell them. If the traders and weavers be in debt to those English people, every facility

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54. Collector of road dues.

55. Collector of tolls at Ferries.

shall be offered to them to realize the amount actually due. At no time concession shall be allowed or favour shown to any particular person so that none may oppress the gumastas of the English. All are required to act upto the positive command and august Nishan which they must never infringe"[56].

Therefore, on the strength of this second Nishan the English Company and the English nationals continued their trade and commerce in Bengal, Bihār and Orissa, though sometimes the Mughal officials interfered in their trade which could be overcome only by means of bribery. The English had to secure a fresh nishan from the new Viceroy after the fall of Shujā. The English ships had smoothly sailed on Bengal waters during the viceroyalty of Shujā without any hindrance from the viceroyal Court, but their movement was greatly hampered during the regime of the next Viceroy of Bengal.

Relations with the Portuguese Traders : Nano da cunha, the Portuguese Governor from 1528 to 1538, first took the venture for direct and regular trade with Bengal. In due course many Portuguese settled down in Bengal, specially in Chittagong. Gradually they became prosperous and their headquarters set up at Hugli grew into a prosperous city. The Portuguese of Hugli, in collusion with the pirates of Chittagong as already stated, ravaged the lands of lower Bengal and also offended Shāhjahān when the latter revolted against his father and retreated to Bengal in the year 1622[57]. So, Shāhjahān could hardly forget the Portuguese affront and after his accession, on his instructions, in 1632 Hugli was sacked and captured. The Portuguese fled from Hugli, turned into outlaws and pirates and in conjunction with the Magh started piracy over the

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56. EFS X 111-12

57. E & D. Vol. VII. 32; Qazvīnī. 252; Bernier (Const.), Pt. I. 174-76.

sea-borne ships[58]. However, by a farmān at the end of the year 1633, Shāhjahān permitted the Portuguese to return to Huglī. By the same farmān the Augustinian Missionaries were granted 777 bighas of rent-free lands at Bandel as well as the following seventeen religious and commercial privileges[59] :-

(1) During the time of mass, no footman or soldier could enter the Church to cause disturbance;

(2) The Padre of Bandel was empowered to administer justice to its inhabitants in all matters except crimes punishable with death;

(3) The government would not interfere in the Padre's right to give the property of the deceased to their heirs or creditors and the surplus to the poor;

(4) On the death of the Dutch and Portuguese owners of ships the Court could not take the goods of the ships, but only the custom dues;

(5) The Dutch ships were prohibited from seizing the Portuguese ships on their way to Bengal;

(6) The Portuguese ships were empowered to sell their goods in any port of Bengal without any charge of customs;

(7) No Moor should resist in bringing back any run away slave to his Christian master;

(8) No 'Darbār' (Court or Levee) was empowered to retain any Christian servants or employees if they ran away to another territory;

(9) All types of ships were prohibited from exporting rice during the time of scarcity;

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58. W. W. Hunter "Annals of Rural Bengal", Vol. I. 421.

59. Campos, J. J. A. "History of Portuguese in Bengal", 142-44.

(10) The 'Darbār' should not interfere if the Christians were found to live with concubines;

(11) If the bamboo houses at Bandel were destroyed by fire, the Mughal Court should neither levy tolls nor prevent obtaining the raw materials from any source;

(12) If any married family newly arrived from Europe wanted to live at Hugli, it should be provided with free quarters and no customs should be demanded;

(13) Customs should not be charged on eatables coming to Bandel;

(14) In criminal cases neither the innocent father should pay for his guilty son nor the innocent son should pay for his guilty father;

(15) During war the faujdār is empowered to call only four or five of the oldest and best councellors for military service, but not all the Christians;

(16) The families coming from Europe were at liberty to stay as long as they wished and to go back to their country at any time without any hindrance;

(17) The imperial officers down the river should not make any demand on the Feringis above what was customary.

In 1646 Shujā, by a new farmān, renewed the above privileges to the Portuguese and also promised protection to them[60]. This friendly relationship between the Viceroy and the Portuguese was thereafter maintained all along and the latter helped Shujā and his followers in their subsequent fight and flight in the succession war (1658-60) which ultimately drove Shujā to Arakan.

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60. Ibid. 144; Toynbee "Sketch of the Administration of Hugli", 6.

Relations with the Dutch Traders : For the first time in 1632 a Dutch Yacht sailed up to Hugli. In the year 1635 the then Viceroy of Bengal granted them a right to establish a factory at Hugli and to trade in the province duty-free. The Dutch position was further strengthened by the farmān granted by Shāhjahān. But their trade was greatly hampered by the hostilities of the local Muslim merchants and they were forced to shift to Pipli. In 1638 the Dutch secured the right of purchasing salt-petre and textiles and in 1642 by an imperial farmān they were freed from tolls on the roads and waterways connecting Bengal with the Mughal capital. Unfortunately, the Dutch trade was greatly affected by Shujā's monopoly of trade. The Company faced another crisis when the 'dadni'[61] merchant fled to escape the exorbitant tolls imposed by the Viceroy. The Company tried to overcome this by posting permanent agents at the sources of supply such as Patna and Kashimbazar. By 1647, fortune favoured the Dutch as the prince became more friendly to them, allowed free sale of elephants and also improvement in the supply of their return cargo. In 1649, the relation of the Dutch Company with Shujā once more became strained over the question of piracy of the Danes in the Bay. The Dutch were ordered to stop the piracy or to leave the country. Emperor Shāhjahān's farman of 1651 to the Dutch helped them to recover the good-will of the prince and the latter granted a favourable farmān guaranteeing freedom of trade again[62].

For a few years the Dutch trade in Bengal prospered and the Bengal trade secured an important position in the Company's Asian trade. Again in 1653

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61. An advance made to a craftsman, a weaver, or the like, by one who trades in the good produced. Hobson-Jobson. P. 290.

62. T. Roy Choudhury "Jan Company in Coromondal", 76-77.

much bad blood was created between the Dutch Company and the Viceroy chiefly for the following reasons : first, the Dutch refused to grant passes for some regions; secondly, Shujā desired to monopolise the middleman trade with the company and lastly, Malik Beg, the Deputy Governor of Orissa became hostile to the Dutch[63]. The Dutch Company was ordered to pay purchase taxes from which it had been so long exempted and by the order of the Governor the Dutch godown at Pipli was sealed. The Dutch, in order to escape Shujā's monopolistic design, were forced temporarily to abandon the Hugli factory. But the local merchants, who were mainly dependent on the trade of the Dutch Company, insisted that they should re-open the Pipli godown in 1654[64]. To settle this dispute by direct negotiation the Dutch Company sent its Commissioner, Jān Varpoorteen, in March 1653, to Rājmahal. But the prince declined to receive any Dutch envoy or presents, ordered his officials to exact all the usual dues and also to take other measures against them. "This rebuff the Dutch were forced to endure in patience"[65]. The passage of the Dutch ships from Hugli to Pipli was blocked by the local Governor and so the former was forced to abandon Hugli temporarily and to re-open a godown at Pipli in 1654. This gloomy and difficult situation was, however, to end shortly as soon as the prince received the passes he had asked for and Malik Beg died in 1655. Within a few months the Dutch prestige and business rose to such a height that they, in 1655, formed a separate directorate independently of Coromondel and appointed

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63. Ibid. 78; EFI. IX. P. XII.

64. T. Roy Choudhury "Jān Company in Coromondal", 78.

65. EFI. IX. P. XII.

Pictor Sterthenus as Director[66]. This cordial relation between the Dutch and the prince continued till the latter's fall in the succession war.

Shujā's Relation with the Zamīndārs :

The Zamīndārs of Bengal and Orissa were always turbulent and taking the advantage of the weaknesses of the imperial administration in the Subahs, they often stopped payment of taxes to the government, revolted and plundered the localities. As noticed already, they created chaos during the weak rule of Azam Khān, while from the outside the country was ravaged by the Maghs, Assamese and Kuch rulers. Shujā, during his viceroyalty handled the internal chaos with bold determination and brought to book all the refractory Zamīndārs and talukdars. He dealt with them severely and restored peace and order in the Subahs and, what more, enriched his coffers at the cost of the Zamīndārs and talukdars[67].

Hijili extended over the coastal district from the Rup Narāyān to the Suvarnarekha river, and Bahādur Khān, the last of the Bara Bhuyas ruled there. He still found gratification in the lofty title of 'Mansad-i-ālā' and regarded himself as an independent ruler. Though his estate was geographically within Orissa, the then Subedār of Orissa made no attempt to subdue him; nor did he pay taxes to the Emperor. Shujā, on his assumption office as the Subedār of Orissa, decided to crush this proud Afghān. Bahādur Khān refused to pay the enhanced tax demanded by Shujā. On Bahādur's procrastination Mirzā Jān Beg, Shujā's deputy at Orissa, by the order of the prince, arrested Bahādur and

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66. T. Roy Chaudhury "Jān Company in Coromondal", 78.

67. Bernier (Const.), Pt. II. 21.

threw him into the prison at Dācca. During the subsequent fratricidal war Bahādur Khān managed to escape, recovered his Zamīndāri in 1659 and again revolted[68].

In order to bring the war of succession to a successful completion in his favour, Shujā recalled all his armies from different parts of Bengal and Orissa. Taking advantages of the changing situation, the discontented Zamīndārs of these two subahs again started rising in revolt and carried on plunder[69]. The Zamīndārs of Katjhuri refused to pay tribute and declared war against the imperial officer Sayyid Sher Khān[70]. Khrishna Bhanj of Hariharpur, the leading Zamīndār of Orissa, during this chaotic condition, extended his control over an area of 50 to 60 Kos between Medinipur and Bhadrak, seizing the property of the inhabitants and travellers and severely oppressing the people[71]. Lakshmi Narāyān Bhanj, the Rājā of Keonjhur, captured the fort of Machhra from the imperial commandant[72]. Besides these, Chhuti Roy dispersed the ryots of Medinipur and built a fort in the jungle[73]. The Zamīndārs on the further side of Katak collected vast forces to declare war against the imperial authority[74]. Some time after the fratricidal war Aurangzeb despatched Khān-i-Daurān who quickly defeated the turbulent Zamīndārs of Orissa and chastised them.

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68. PIHRC. Vol. XXXIII. Pt. II. 19; MH. 130; Wāris. 90b; EFI. XI. 68.

69. SAR. 224.

70. MH. 59; R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 42.

71. MH. 72, 107; R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 42-43.

72. MH. 52, 58, 129; SAR. 228; R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 42-43.

73. MH. 190. R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 42-43.

74. MH. 72.

Settlement of Shias in Bengal :

Prince Shujā himself a Shia was a staunch supporter of Shia faith. He was always surrounded by the Shia Officers. He married two Shia wives. He invited about three hundred Shias from Irān and they were settled at Dācca[75] in the area which was later on known as Rahamatganj. During the time of Shujā these Shias controlled the life and culture of Dācca[76]. But with his fall they lost their position and were reduced to the second-grade citizens under the rule of Sunni Emperor Aurangzeb.

Transfer of Orissa under Shujā :

For the first time during the time of Shujā, the Subahs of Bengal and Orissa came under one Viceroy. Hitherto Orissa and Bengal had been separate Subahs under separate Viceroys. On March 8, 1642, the province of Orissa was transferred to Shujā and Muhammad Zamān Tehrani was promoted and transferred from Dācca as the prince's deputy in Orissa[77]. Mīr Abdul Qasim was posted as the naib subadār in Dācca in place of Muhammad Tehrani[78]. Shujā administered the province of Orissa from March 1642, till he was driven away from Bengal by Mīr Jumla on May 6, 1660[79] with a break from November 21, 1645 to July 26, 1648 during which Muta'qād Khān was appointed for the second time[80]. During his long

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75. JPHS. 1953. Vol. I. P.354 (Trans. of SS).

76. BPP. 1946. P. 60.

77. FQ. 5; Lāhorī. Vol. II. 283; Wāris. 37a; AS. Vol. III. 64; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 332; R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 40.

78. J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 333.

79. EFI. X. 388; MU. Vol. II. 197; MA. 18; Aurang. Vol. II. 606.

80. MD. Vol. III. 199a; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 231; R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 40.

period of administration, the undermentioned persons acted as his deputy in Orissa[81].

(i) Muhammad Zamān Tehrani from March 8, 1642 to November 21, 1645.

(ii) Jān Beg Harvi from July 26, 1648 to November 19, 1651.

(iii) Muhammad Hayat from November 19, 1651 to October 3, 1654.

(iv) Mīr Samsam-Ud-Daulah Ānju from October 3, 1654 to March, 1655 (he died).

(v) Rashīd Khān was appointed on April 14, for a few months only.

(vi) Tarbiyat Khān alias Saiffulah Birlas Vilayet-Za from the end of 1655.

Rakhaldas Banerjee states that Tarbiyat Khān acted as deputy from 1655 to 1666[82]. But according to Jadunāth Sarkār Tarbiyat Khān functioned from 1655 to 1657 and Ihtisham Khān alias Ikhlās Khān from November 1659 to September, 1660, as Shujā's deputy in Orissa. But Sir Jadunāth is silent as to who acted as the deputy Governor in Orissa from 1657 to November, 1659[83].

Important Appointments :

The officers who held important assignments under Shujā during his long period of viceroyalty are mentioned below :-

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81. SAR. 216; AS. Vol. II. 194; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 231-32.

82. R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 40.

83. J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 232.

As a Dēwān of Bengal : (i) Multafat Khān from 1639 to 1642[84], (ii) Kashidās from 1642 to 1647[85], (iii) Mīr Husam-ud-din Ānju, Murtazā Khān from 1647 to 1654[86].

Mīr Abdul Qasim was Shujā's deputy at Dācca[87] from the beginning of the latter's viceroyalty in Bengal to the 25th year of Shāhjahān's reign and then he was replaced by Rahmān Yār Khan, the brother of Allah Yār Khān[88]. Mīr Abu-al-Qasim Tabātabaī Simnani was Shujā's Bakshī at Rājmahal[89]. Mirzā Hasan Safī[90] was appointed as the Thanadār of Cooch Bihār in the 22nd year of Shāhjahān's reign, but he died in the following year and then Sayyēd Hasan[91] was appointed to that post. On the recommendation of Dārā Shukoh, Shujā posted Jān Beg as the Thanadār of Sylhet in place of Sultān Nazr[92]. Sayyid Yusuf was appointed by Shujā as the Thanadār of Karibari and he held that post till he was driven away by the Assamese during the war of succession[93]. These were the most important Civil appointments of Shujā.

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84. M.U. Vol. II. 279.

85. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 285; AS. Vol. II. 362, 509.

86. MU. Vol. I. 651.

87. Dani, A. H. "Dācca - a Record of its Changing Fortune", 29.

88. SN. 108a; MU. Vol. I. 211; Waris. 97a.

89. JPHS. 1953. Vol. I. P. 348.

90. Wāris. 41a; SN. 44b; MU. Vol. I. 622.

91. Wāris. 75b.

92. SN. 144a.

93. JASB. 1872. Vol. I. 64 (Trans : FI).

Relations with Delhi :

After the annexation of Bengal to the Mughal Empire during the reign of Akbar, it was governed by officers, appointed from Delhi. For the first time during the reign of Shāhjahān, a member of the royal house, Sultān Shujā, the second son of the Emperor, was appointed to the vice-royalty of the province. Within three years of Shujā's viceroyalty Orissa was also for the first time added to Bengal under the same Viceroy[94]. As the climate of Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca) did not suit Shujā and his family, he transferred his capital to Rājmahal within a year[95].

The relations between Shujā and the Emperor during his viceroyalty of Bengal had been perfectly cordial until about 1654, when the reported alliance of Shujā and Aurangzeb against Dārā for the first time disturbed the Emperor. The subject of Shujā's relations with the Emperor falls into two stages. In the first stage the Emperor was so good to him that on every important occasion and especially on the day of Nawroz he presented his son with various kinds of costly gifts, titles and honour[96]. The prince reciprocated likewise by sending to the Emperor various precious things of Bengal[97]. When in the year 1642, fire destroyed Shujā's palace at Rājmahal the Emperor sent help in cash and kind to the prince[98]. After Jahānārā's recovery from fireburn, Shujā, who was in Bengal,

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94. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 283; FQ. 5; R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 40.

95. Aurang. Vol. V. 296; FQ. 7; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 334.

96. M.D. Vol. III. 171a, 22b. PIHC. Vol. XI. 139; AS. Vol. II. 369.

97. Wāris. 82b, 176b; SN. 91a.

98. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 178; AS. Vol. II. 316; MA. 189a; MD. Vol. III. 169a.

was duly rewarded and presents were sent to his capital[99]. The prince always kept the Emperor informed of his administrative measures[100], and the Emperor also, in his turn, used to give casual advice and instructions to the prince as to how to discharge his duties[101]. Shujā subdued the Chiefs of Morang and Kachhar and compelled them to pay tribute. The chiefs, to show their obedience and good-will, presented several elephants to Shujā and the prince forwarded them to the Emperor with his respectful[102]. In the 29th year of Shāhjahān's reign Shujā presented, as a token of his esteem, fifty-two Arabian, Turkish and Irāqī horses to the Emperor[103]. But Shāhjahān disappointed Shujā in one respect and the Emperor was unfair to the prince. The climate of Bengal did not suit the prince and his family and his children were suffering from various diseases, specially from itches (Dad-o-khaj). Shujā time and again represented it to the Emperor and sought his permission to reside with his family in Patna[104]. This request was not motivated by any political design; and what he sincerely wanted was to keep his family at a place where they could live happily in good health. He was even ready to exchange the rich provinces of Bengal and Orissa for the subah of Bihār including Rohtās[105]. But the Emperor for some unaccountable

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99. AS. Vol. II. 417.

100. FQ. 9, 15; PIHC. Vol. XI. 140.

101. PIHC. Vol. XI. 141; J.N.Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 334.

102. PIHC. XI. 140; FQ. 9; J.N.Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 333.

103. Wāris. 176b.

104. PIHC. Vol. XI. 139-40; FQ. 7.

105. PIHC. XI. 139; FQ. 7.

reason could not grant the request of his son, and this made Shujā somewhat disgruntled against his father, though not disaffected.

There was another reason why Shujā was unhappy. The Emperor was too generous and partial to his eldest son, Dārā, while he showed no such regard for the younger princes whom he kept far away, posted at outlying provinces for years. This discrimination in treatment created jealousies in the minds of the younger princes against their eldest brother. The discontent in the mind of Shujā eventually led him to seek an alliance with Aurangzeb against Dārā, for they thought that it was Dārā who was ruling. They secretly planned to strengthen their relationship through matrimonial alliance (between Aurangzeb's eldest son with Shujā's daughter and vice versa)[106]. When the report of impending alliance between Shujā and Aurangzeb leaked out, the Emperor was very annoyed, rebuked Aurangzeb and tried to dissuade Shujā from such an alliance against Dārā. He even thought to remove Aurangzeb from the Deccan on the charge of misrule and proposed to transfer Shujā there[107], but this plan did not materialise. The strained relations of Shujā with Shāhjahān continued till the downfall of the latter. During the war of succession, Aurangzeb in alliance with Murād defeated Dārā, imprisoned Shāhjahān and seized the authority of the Empire. He then turned against Shujā who was advancing towards the capital. Dārā not having been yet finally disposed of, Aurangzeb at first tried to satisfy Shujā by offering him the Subah of Bihār[108]. But Shujā could not be hood winked this time and he continued his march towards

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106. ZA. 10-11.

107. Ādāb'. 28a, 32a; Aurang. I. 180.

108. AN. 223; FA. 39a.

Agra at the head of his army, while Aurangzeb was fighting Dārā[109]. But Shujā met with the most tragic disappointment of his life, as he failed to change the course of providence. Aurangzeb, on receipt of the news of Shujā's advance, marched in person against him and the hostile armies of the two brothers met face to face in the field of Khajwa where Shujā was completely defeated with disastrous losses (January 5, 1659)[110]. The details of these fights between brothers will be noticed in a separate chapter.

Revenue Reforms and Conditions of Bengal under Shujā :

Prince Muhammad Sultān Shāh Shujā was the Viceroy of Bengal for nearly eighteen years from April 1639, with a break of two years till he fled to Arakan on May 6, 1660. His tenure was remarkable for various reasons. The most important of them was his attention to revenue reforms. He had compiled the "Jumma too-mari" or rent roll[111].

The first revenue assessment of the Subah of Bengal was made by Todarmal in 1582. He divided it into 19 Sarkārs and 682 parganas and the revenue of Khalasa land was fixed as Rs. 63,44,260/-. Besides this, separate assessment was made for jāʼgīr lands which were distributed among the subedārs, faujdārs, mansabdārs, generals, etc. and the revenue fixed for jāʼgīr lands was Rs.43,48,892/- and the total revenue fixed for all kinds of lands in the Subah of Bengal was Rs. 1,06,93,152/-[112]. Perhaps this assessment was not made in lower Bengal with

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109. AN. 224-25; ZA. 73; KT. 513; LT. 128b; MA. 211a; MJ. 472a; FA. 39a-b.

110. AN. 235-36; ZA. 74; AS. III. 322; FA.39a-b.

111. Moreland "Agrarian system of Muslim India", P. 195.

112. DUG. July 1956. P. 34; DGB. 88; AS^coli. F.D. "Early revenue of Bengal", P. 25; AA. II. P. 141-44; A. Kakim "Dācca, the Mughal Capital", P. 56; N. N. Roy "Murshidābāder Itihash", Vol. I. P. 424.

proper and careful investigation into the produce of the land and the assets of the villagers as had been done in Bihār and elsewhere[113]. The revenue demand on the peasants was fixed at one-fourth of the average product and the collection was made through Zamīndārs, who were annual contractors. The legitimate allowances of the Zamīndārs was never more than ten per cent which was paid in the form of commission and small estates[114].

During the viceroyalty of Shujā, the boundaries of Bengal were extended. In the south-west Medinipur and Hijili were annexed to Bengal from Orissa. In the east and north-east the border was extended upto Koch Hājo. He also developed the submerged lands of Sundarban and rehabilitated there the lower classes of people[115]. Shujā changed the assessment of Todarmal and divided the Subah Bengal including the newly acquired territories into 34 Sarkārs and 1350 Parganas and the total revenue was fixed as Rs. 1,31,15,907/-[116]. He increased the assessment of Todarmal by Rs. 9,87,162/- by creating 361 more new Parganas out of 682 old Parganas. The newly acquired territories and the mints (place where money is coined) were divided to 307 Parganas and the revenue was fixed at Rs.14,35,593/-.

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113. DGB. 88.

114. Moreland "Agrarian System of Muslim India", 195.

115. Ibid; JASB, 1873. Vol. I. 219; J. Taylor "Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dācca", 76; Ascoli "Early Revenue History of Bengal", 24.

116. Moreland "Agrarian System of Muslim India", 219; JASB. I. 219; DUS July 1956. P. 34; A. Karim "Dācca the Mughal Capital", 56; Fiaz Baksh "Memories of Delhi and Faizābād", Vol. I. 25; K. N. Mazumdar "Mymensingh-er-Itihas", 63; N. R. Roy "Murshidābād-er-Itihas", Vol. I. 420-430; G. H. Mitra "Birbhum-er-Itihas", Vol. I. 89; J. J. Sarkār "India of Aurangzeb", 133-34; Ascoli "Early Revenue History of Bengal", 23-25; J. Taylor "Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dācca", 76.

The names of the sarkars including the sarkars of Todarmal are : Jannetābād, Purnia, Tejpur, Pinjra, Ghoraghat, Barbakabad, Bajuya, Sonārgāon, Sylhet, Fatehābād, Chatgāon, Oraswar, Shārifabād, Salīmanabād, Madarun, Sātgāon, Mamudābād or Bhusana, Bakla, Khalifābād, Qismat Goalpara, Qismat Maljethiya, Qismat Maskuri, Jaleswar, Ramna, Qismat Basta, Cooch Bihār, Bongalbhum, Dakkhin Kol (South Kol), Dhubri, Uttar Kol (North Kol), Udaipur, Morād Khani, Sarkār Peskas and Sarkār Dar-ul-Jabba.

Sarkār Dakkhin Kol, Dhubri and Kāmrūp were separated from Assam and annexed with Bengal. The first thirty-two sarkars were formed on the basis of physical consideration and the last two were formed on the basis of revenue collection.

Shujā's assessment of land revenue remained in force till the time of Murshid Qulī Khān when a new rent roll was prepared. But Shujā's activities were not limited only to the financial reforms. He had an unique position as a son of the Emperor and himself possessed a great personality, ability and sincerity to do something for the betterment of his subjects. As a result every branch of the public administration which got his touch was rejuvenated. His vigorous and forceful administration freed the country from all kinds of external aggression and internal chaos. He checked the temptation of the raiders and stamped out the refractory Zamīndārs and unruly elements and made it possible for the people to live in peace without any fear[117]. To maintain peace and

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117. FQ. 9; DM. 106; 113; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 333; S. Sen "Bangla Sahitya-r-Itihas", Vol. I. 21; OB. 392; Riyāz. 215; BPP. 1946. P. 60; J. Taylor "Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dācca", 76; Montague "History of Bengal", 54; Firminger in his Fifth Report Stated that the English Record of that Period do not confirm this opinion. Vol. I. XXXVI.

order he kept a strict watch over the whole Subah and appointed efficient officers in various capacities. He was not satisfied only with this arrangement. As advised by the Emperor, he made periodical visits to the different parts of the Subah. Shujā wrote in a letter to the Emperor, "Another order of your Majesty is that : I who am now staying at Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) should make a tour according to the following programme; Akbarnagar to Bardwān and thence to Medinipur (which is the frontier of Orissa), where I am to recall my officials whose removal appears necessary, and settle the Mahals; from Medinipur I am to tour to Jahānabād (Birbhum), Sātgāon, Huglī, Maksūsābād and back to Rājmahal"[118]. J. N. Sarkār has rightly stated that "During these twenty years Bengal enjoyed profound peace, because the Subahdār's position as the Emperor's son awed intending rebels into submission and prevented his jealous rivals from obstructing him or intriguing at Court for his overthrow. This peace led to the growth of wealth, and trade and industry rapidly increased, especially the commerce of the Dutch and (to a much lesser extent that of the English) East India Companies. ..... The administration was very well conducted by a number of highly cultured and efficient Persian officers, many of them emigrants through the port of Huglī, whom he gathered round himself and cherished by honourable treatment"[119].

In the 17th century India was mainly an agricultural country and, among the Subahs, Bengal was noted for her agricultural products. Shujā was fully aware of it and paid constant attention to the development of agriculture and also of the agriculture of the Subah of Bengal and Orissa. In a letter to the Emperor

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118. FQ. 15; PIHC. Vol. XI. 141; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal, Vol. II. 334.
119. Aurang. Vol. V. 296.

he stated that "As promotion of cultivation and happiness of all the people are known to be the particular object of your Majesty's attention, I have during this time made such efforts to improve the cultivation and the reclamation of the country that both Subahs are showing every day signs of such labour. The condition of Subah Orissa was bad owing to the oppression of the previous Governor. I have tried my utmost to improve the administration of these two Subahs"[120].

Though Shujā was the Subedār of Orissa also, but he never attempted to change the rent roll of that province made by Todarmal. A portion of Orissa was under direct control of the Mughal Viceroy which consisted of the three Sarkārs of Jaleswar, Bhadrak and Katak and rest was under semi-independent Rājās and Zamīndārs who used to pay tribute to the Emperor. Revenue from the imperial lands were collected by the Izaradārs or directly through the revenue officials named Amils, Kroris, etc.[121]. The total collection of revenue from Orissa during Shujā's long viceroyalty was not constant. It was Rs. 50,00,000/- in the year 1648[122] and rose to Rs. 56,39,000/- in 1654[123].

Shujā was a dutiful and sincere administrator and a sympathetic master. He strove hard to make the life of his subjects happy and prosperous. In the administration of justice he was very strict and impartial and he never hesitated to award the severest punishment even to men of high position[124]. He was kind and

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120. P. IHC. Vol. XI. 140; FQ. 9.

121. R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 50.

122. Lāhorī. Vol. II. 711; SAR. 240; Ibid.

123. J. N. Sarkār "India of Aurangzeb", LVIII; SAR. 240; R. D. Banerjee "History of Orissa", II. 50.

124. Stewart "History of Bengal", 287.

generous to his subjects[125], and often bestowed rewards and titles on the efficient and faithful officers and thus encouraged efficiency and obedience. But this promising career of the prince and the happiness of the subjects were cut short when the scramble for the throne broke out at the beginning of 1658. Shujā recalled his military officials from different parts of Bengal and Orissa to fight his rivals. The moment was opportune for the freedom-loving turbulent Zamīndārs of Orissa and Bengal to throw off their yoke, stop payment of tribute to Agra and to go about looting and plundering[126]. Not only this, the Rājās of Assam and Cooch Bihār, so long kept in check, grew bold and started attacking and despoiling the imperial territory. This kind of chaos continued throughout the succession war till it was happily put down by Mīr Jumla in Bengal and Khān-i-Daurān in Orissa under the new regime of Aurangzeb at Delhi[127].

Condition of the Bengal Navy :

Eastern Bengal is a water-logged country, criss-crossed by a number of big and small rivers and the southern border touches the Bay of Bengal. In the rainy season main transport and means of communication was by nawāra. By the water-ways the feringi pirates, the Maghs and the Assamese, time and again, penetrated into the imperial territory, plundered and kidnapped people and even sometimes threatened Dācca, the eastern capital. The Mughal Viceroys of Bengal were aware of this problem and hence they maintained a good flotilla with the

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125. E & D. Vol. VII. 198.

126. SAR. 224, 226, 236; MA. 52, 58, 59, 72, 107, 129, 130, 190; J. N. Sarkār "History of Bengal", Vol. II. 333; R. K. Mukherjee "History of Orissa", Vol. II. 101.

127. AB. 158; JASB. 1872. Pt. I. P. 63; Gait "History of Assam", 126.

help of which they defended the country from external aggression and raids of the pirates. But unfortunately this flotilla or navy was not properly looked after by Shujā and was allowed to languish in neglect.

The deterioration of the efficiency of the Bengal Navy continued from the time of Shujā's predecessors. For a long time the naval officials, who were responsible for the maintenance of the flotilla, were granted parganas yielding about 14 lakhs a year[128]. Shujā, at the beginning of his viceroyalty, defeated and checked all kinds of external aggression and piratical activities[129]. As a result, the necessity of the flotilla became secondary and "great confusion was caused by his negligence, the extortion and violence of the clerks (Mutasaddis) ruined the parganas assigned for maintaining the nawwara (flotilla). Many (naval) officers and workmen holding jagir or stipened were seriously impoverished. "Day by day their distress and ruin increased"[130] and at last it almost totally fell into decay and unfit for repair through official parsimony or peculation"[131]. With the decadence of the flotilla the naval officials lost their efficiency and valour and their cowardice became proverbial in Bengal[132]. During Mīr Jumla's expedition to Assam this weak flotilla was almost completely destroyed[133]. Shaista Khān, during his viceroyalty, reorganised, renovated and

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128. Aurang. Vol. V. 298.

129. F. Gladwin "Tawārīkh-i-Bangala", 17; SAR. 185; JASB. 1907, Vol. III. 423.

130. JASB. 1907. Pt. I. P. 405 (Trans. FIC); Aurang. Vol. V. 298.

131. Aurang. Vol. V. 297.

132. SAR. 185; JASB. 1907. Pt. I. P. 423.

133. Aurang. Vol. V. 298.

strengthened the Bengal Navy in order to lead an expedition against the King of Arakan and also to conquer Chittagaon.

Charitable and Architectural Works :

The activities of Shujā were not limited only to financial reforms and maintenance of peace and order. He was a gifted person and had varieties of tastes. Among the sons of Shāhjahān, he inherited his father's love for architecture and with in the small span of time and limited resources he proved his capacity.

During the regime of Shujā for the first time the practice of erecting monumental gates came into vogue in Dācca. The gates of Bara Katra and the southern gate of Lalbagh Fort are the best examples. These are the important elements of Mughal architectural style at Dācca and this style influenced the future construction of buildings during or after Mughal period[134].

The magnificient work of Shujā was the Bara Katra. It is situated to the south of Chauk, on the bank of river Buriganga. It had a gigantic front towards the river; it served the purpose of a caravan sarai. It was an open quadrangle while arcaded rooms enclosing it from four sides. It had two main gates, one in the north and the other in the south. The glorious southern wing with the magnificient river front, 223 feet long, was the object of much attraction for the visitors coming by boat from long distance[135].

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134. A. H. Dani "Dācca - A Record of its Changing Fortunes", P. 89.

135. Ibid. 105-07 (more details of the Katra has given);
JASP. Vol. VII. No. II. P. 302.
BPP. 1946. P. 60-61; J. M. Roy "Dhakar Itihas", I. 340-41.

There are two inscriptions on the gate of this magnificient building. The first is to the effect that the foundation was laid by Abul Qasim in 1053 A.H. (A.D. 1643). On the second the following was written : "Sultān Shāh Shujā Bahādur was famed for deeds of charity - wherefore being hopeful of the mercy of God, his slave Abdul Qasim-al-Husaini at Tabtābā, assimnaiy, built this sacred edifice with twenty-two shops attached to it, on the righteous and lawful condition that the officials in charge of the endowment should expend the income derived from them upon the repairs of the buildings and upon the poor, and that they should not take any rent from any deserving person alighting therein, so that the pious act may reflect upon the monarch in this world and they should not act contrarywise, or else they would be called to account on the day of Retribution. The inscription was composed by Sad-ud-din Muhammad Shirazi, 1055 A.H. (A.D. 1645)"[136]. Perhaps Shujā originally erected this building with the intention of casually residing in it with his family, but as the climate of Dācca did not suit him, he dedicated this building to charitable use. To serve this purpose better, perhaps the quadrangle with the rooms and open courtyard on the model of a Sarai was built later on in the year 1055 A.H. (A.D. 1645)[137].

The next great building of Shujā was the Churihatta Mosque. It is situated at Churihatta - a quarter to the west of the Chawk. Tradition says that this mosque was constructed on the site of a temple which was destroyed

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136. BPP. 1946. P. 60; Abdul Karim "Dācca, the Mughal Capital", 35.

137. BPP. 1946. P. 60-61.

by the Mughals during the time of Shāhjahān[138]. There were two inscriptions on this mosque, one was in Arabic and the other in Persian. Its English translations are reproduced below[139] :

The Arabic inscription runs as : "To build the mosque of God is the duty of those who believe in Him and the day of Judgment, Offer prayer regularly, distribute alms and do not fear any one except the Almighty. Verily they will prove to be righteous. The Prophet (on whom be peace) of God, said 'God creates for him who builds a mosque seventy houses in Paradise'. This mosque is erected in the reign of the fortunate Emperor, Abdul Muzaffar Shihabuddin, Shāhjahān, Emperor (of India), whose justice of an hour is equal to the worship of all the spirits and the human beings, when he appointed his worthy son Shāh Mahammad Shujā Bahādur as Viceroy to the Province of Bengal". Sd/- Muhammad Beg.

Translation of the Persian inscription : "During the reign of Prince Shujā the unbelievers were defeated by the Muslims and this holy shrine was erected (in commemoration thereof). I, therefore, put a query to my innerself as to the exact date of the erection and it replied at once : 'Infidelity suppressed' dated 1060 A.H. (1650 A.D.)". In the last inscription the defeat of the unbelievers by the Muslims perhaps meant Shujā's successful war against the Maghs of Arakan.

The next remarkable work of Shujā was the great Īdgah (Place for offering Īd prayers). It was situated in a village, now called 'Rayer bazar' about one and a half mile away from the Pilkhana. It was built by Abul Qasim, the Dēwān of Shujā in the year 1640[140].

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138. A. H. Dani "Dācca - a record of its changing fortune", P. 91; IC. April 1928. P. 326-28; Abdul Karim "Dācca, the Mughal Capital", P. 36.

139. IC. April 1933. P. 327-28.

140. A. H. Dani "Dācca - A record of its Changing Fortune", 125-26; JASP. Vol. VII. No. II. 302; Abul Karim "Dācca, the Mughal Capital", 35; J. Taylor "Sketch of the Topography and Statistics of Dācca", 90.

Sultān Shujā's Palace at Rājmahal has already been described in details.

Shujā was also renowned for his public works. He made endowments to the religious leaders, social workers and to poor deserving families. The great saint Sayid Shāh Niamatulla of Karnool, who visited Rājmahal was much honoured by Shujā. The Sayid breathed his last at Firozpur and Shujā arranged for an endowment for the upkeep of his tomb[141]. During the second half of his viceroyalty Shujā issued a sanad to a Fakir named Janab Shāh Sultān Hasan Muria Burhana. It conferred on him the right of confiscating rent-free tenures and hierless properties throughout Subah Bengal and Orissa. The Fakir had a large followering and the prince instructed the Zamīndārs and Talukdārs, to provide provisions when the saint passed through their localities in procession. The Fakir gradually became haughty and being emboldened at the collapse of the administration during the civil war among the sons of Shāhjahān, started large-scale oppression over the peasants[142].

Maulana Saleh Bakhash Muhammad who migrated to Bhāgālpūr during the reign of Jahāngīr became noted for his piety, learning and knowledge which attracted about 200 followers. The rich men of the locality out of generosity and charity contributed sufficient to meet his requirements. Shujā in the year 1653 granted 500 bighas of land to Maulana Muhammad Salam, son of Maulana Saleh Bakhash Muhammad in pargana Colgong and subsequently 19 bighas in pargana Bhāgālpūr for the maintenance of Salam's family and of the institution. The number of students which were reduced to 150 during the time of Salam was

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141. DGM. 91.

142. DGWD. 49.

provided with free education, lodging and clothing[143]. Kalapahar was burried on the top of the Garurchal hill. Shujā made endowments of lands for the maintenance of the worship at the tomb[144]. Besides these, the prince, on November 20, 1658, granted 330 bighas of rent-free land in the village Mathapur in Chand pargana of Sarkār Rohtās to Mirzā Alī and others[145].

Coins of Shāh Shujā :

At the end of the year 1657 Emperor Shāhjahān fell ill and at that time his three sons at Bengal, Guzrāt and the Deccan revolted against the central authority. At the same time Shujā and Murād issued coins and read the Khutba in their names. Shujā revolted at Rājmahal, declared himself Emperor, and issued coins in his own name[146]. In the British Museum two coins of Shāh Shujā are available in the catalogues of the coins of Mughal Emperors of India (No. 690 and 691). Both these are of the 'square area' type extensively adopted by Emperor Shāhjahān but the dices were a little larger and the important inscriptions on the margin were not distinct, but their mints have been tentatively read as Akbarābād and Jalaonābād. In addition to the two 'square area' type coins of British Museum, a different type of coin discovered in the Banda district is now in the Lucknow Museum. The following inscriptions are written on the obverse and reverse side of the coin at Lucknow Museum.

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143. BPP. Vol. XLIX. 132.

144. IC. July 1928. P. 345.

145. K. K. Datta "Some Farmāns, Sanads and Parwanas", 71.

146. FQ. 94; AN. 29; TSC. 128; AS. Vol. III. 277; FA. 9b.

Obverse :- "Laya laha Allalah Muhammad Rasul-ullah".

Reverse :- "Badughazi Muhammad Shāhzada Shujāye Sikandar nasir ulad".

The inscription on the margin of the coin is almost illegible. The weight of the coin is 143 gram and the size is 0.75 inch. On the reverse side in the first line the meaning of Badu is not clear. Again, in the last line of the same side the meaning of 'Nasir-ulad" is also not clear. Perhaps the correct form of the last line would be 'Sikander Shāh Nasir-uddin' and exactly this is written at the top margin of the B.M. Coin No. 691[147].

147. JASB. N.S. VI. 1905. P. 265-66; N.S. No. XX. 1912. P. 533.

CHAPTER V.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST DĀRĀ SHUKOH

The Question of Succession :

The Prophet did not formulate any law of succession. As a result, there was conflict and blood-shed on the question of succession after his death and the Muslim world fell divided into two groups called the 'Shias' and the 'Sunnīs'. As there was no religious sanction for the general law of primogeniture, almost all the Muslim kingdoms had to face civil wars on the issue of succession which was ultimately decided by the arbitrament of the sword. The house of Tīmūr was no exception and every prince of this house considered himself a 'Mirzā', a prince with the title to rule. There was no check on the personal ambition of the princes and as, in all other Muslim states, they revolted against their father. Fratricidal wars were a common feature in the history of the house of Tīmūr in India as elsewhere.

Among the sovereigns of the Tīmūride dynasty in India none had to face this problem so much as did Shāhjahān during the later part of his reign. Often he talked with his confidants about the future but the future seemed gloomy[1]. All of his four sons were mature in age, ripen in experience, and ambitious in their outlook. But there was no brotherly feeling among them, nor any similarity in character. Though they were opposed to each other, common jealousy to Dārā Shukoh, however, bound the younger three, Shujā, Aurangzeb and Murād, for the time being against the eldest brother. Aurangzeb's personality, sterling quality and leadership and his religious outlook which were quite prominent than the other

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1. RA. 54; Aurang. Vol. I. P. 293.

princes, was intolerable to Dārā. On the other hand, Dārā's religious outlook and his attitude towards his younger brothers irritated Aurangzeb and, moreover, the latter was jealous at Shāhjahān's fondness and partiality towards his eldest son. As a result the strain between Dārā and Aurangzeb was so bitter and it was so patent and glowing at such an alarming pace that it was the talk of the whole Empire. With a view to maintain peace the Emperor was, therefore, forced to remove Aurangzeb from the capital to the far-off Deccan[2]. But Shujā and Murād had neither personality and calibre like Aurangzeb nor their religious policy was so distinctly separate from that of Dārā or Aurangzeb to come in head on collition with either of them.

Religious Outlook of the Princes :

Dārā Shukoh was the most learned among the princes. He had the religious catholicity of his great grand-father and sometimes he appeared even a little more advanced in views. To satisfy his thirst for Pantheistic Philosophy, he studied the New Testament, the writings of the Muslim 'Sufis' and the Hindū 'Vedanta'. He wrote a few theological treaties and translated some Hindū religious books into the Persian language[3]. He was, therefore, considered by his younger brothers and by most of the Muslim nobles as 'infidel'. Prince Shujā was free from all kinds of religious bigotry and was inclined towards 'Shiaism'. Prince Aurangzeb was diametrically opposite to Dārā in religious outlook. He was a zealous 'Sunni' and followed strictly the instructions of the Qurān. He ascended the throne as the champion of Islām against the heretic Dārā[4]. Prince Murād was free from all

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2. Anec. 2 and 5; Aurang. Vol. I. P. 294; TS. 6b; Ādāb. 171b, 174b.

3. Rieu. I. 54, 357-58; II. 828; Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P. 72-98, 280-90.

4. Aurang. II. P. 81.

kinds of religious scruples and he delighted only in wine and women. That is why he has been dubbed by Jadunāth Sarkār as the "black sheep of the imperial family"[5]. Though the princes greatly differed in religious outlook, religion played only a nominal part in the war of succession. Dārā, in spite of his pro-Hindū policy, had only twenty-four Rājpūt, Marāthā and other Hindū generals (1,000 to 7,000 each) while Aurangzeb was supported by twenty-one generals belonging to different classes of Hindūs. Similarly, though Shujā was a 'Shia', Aurangzeb a 'Sunnī' and Dārā a 'Mulhid' (idolator)[6], yet during the war of succession Dārā had twenty-three, Shujā had only one and Aurangzeb had twenty-seven Irānian generals at their command[7]. So it is clear that religion did not play any important part in the war of succession. If the triumph of 'Hindūism' or 'Islāmism', 'Shiaism' or 'Sufism' had been the issue of the contest, the Sayyids of Barha would not have been the faithful supporters of Dārā; neither would Mahārājā Jai Singh have favoured the cause of Aurangzeb, nor Mīr Jumla fought for Aurangzeb against Shujā or Dārā. Perhaps the more fanatic section of the Muslims, in general, lined up behind Aurangzeb[8].

Shāhjahān's Partiality for Dārā :

Why did this fratricidal blood-shed occur during the life time of the Emperor ? The sons of Shāhjahān did not create any precedent in settling the question of heirship. They followed the conventional method which their predecessors also had followed. The writers, native and foreign, friendly and

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5. Ibid. I. P. 318.

6. FQ. 427 and 432.

7. PIHC. 1960. Pt. I. P. 254.

8. K. R. Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P. 199-200.

hostile, have often alleged that the Emperor's partiality and fondness for his eldest son, Dārā, pushed the other three sons on the road to open rebellion. The eldest brother was looked upon by the younger as the drone of the imperial family, spoon-fed and swaddled with robes of honour[9]. Dārā was appointed as the Viceroy of rich and long-settled provinces like Allahābād, the Punjāb and Multān, but he always stayed in the imperial court and governed the provinces through deputies. In season and out of season the Emperor bestowed on him rank and privileges which raised his position next to that of the Emperor. He was a Commander of forty thousand horse and his income was an object of envy to many kings. In the imperial court Dārā used to sit below the Emperor on a golden chair[10], and participated in the proceedings of the court. "It is fully borne out by the history of the last two years of Shāhjahān's reign that the crown prince had an increasing share in the administration of affairs, and except in matters of foreign policy his voice was all but final in his father's cabinet"[11]. Though as a warrior Dārā was inferior to his younger brothers, he was promoted to a Command of 60,000 Zāt which was higher than the united commands of all the other princes[12]. The partiality was shown even towards the sons of Dārā. His sons, Sulaimān and Sipihār were commanders of 12,000 and 8,000 respectively but both Shujā and Aurangzeb were twenty hazaris and their eldest sons Zain-ul-Ābidīn and Muhammad Sultān were only 7,000. Not only this, the Emperor created more

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9. Ibid. P. 201.

10. Wāris. 96a (Golden Chair and the Title 'Shāh' was bestowed on Dārā on February 3, 1655), 97a, 120a (Dārā's pay was fixed at 1.1/2 crores of rupees in January 1657); Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P. 128.

11. Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P. 128.

12. TS. 6b (Dārā promoted to 60,000 horse with a pay of about two crores on December 20, 1657), Wāris. 96a, 116a; Aurang. I. 295.

peers out of Dārā's satellites and liberally patronised the spiritual guide, literary satellites and musicians of Dārā[13]. Hence it can be safely concluded that the Emperor was extremely partial towards his eldest son. But it does not mean that he disliked others. He was a beloved father and he loved all his sons, though not equally. In view of the differences and hostilities among his sons, the Emperor naturally apprehended a bloody war for the throne in his absence among his sons. So he attempted to avoid that eventuality by posting them to four different corners of the Empire[14]. His partiality for Dārā and the latter's interference in the activities of the court and even in the administration of the other princes forced them to make a common cause against their common enemy[15].

Dārā Nominated Heir-apparent :

This combination among the three younger brothers was further strengthened when Shāhjahān gave clear indication that he wanted to nominate his eldest son as the heir-apparent[16]. Perhaps to train in the administration of the Empire, the Emperor allowed Dārā to stay in the court leaving his viceroyalties to his deputies. Dārā also never left the capital for fear of losing his position at the court[17]. In the court Dārā was not a silent observer, but an active participator. The interfering activities of Dārā and the doting partiality of Shāhjahān

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13. Wāris. 98a-b, 114a, 166a; Aurang. I. P. 295-96.

14. Faiyaz Bakhsh "Tawārīkh-i-Faiyaz-bakhsh", P. 33; Bernier (Const.), Pt. II. P. 14; ZA. 10, 60. Poem. 14.

15. Dārā interfered in Aurangzeb's administration as the Viceroy of the Deccan and in the latter's campaign against Bījapūr and Golkonda. Aurang. Vol. I. P. 237, 239, 277-78; Ādāb. 59a, 69b, 177a; Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P.138-39,143

16. Poem 14.

17. Aurang. I. 294.

shown towards him were extremely irritating to the three younger princes who gradually came together and forged a coalition among themselves against Dārā in order to bar his way to the throne of Delhi.

Formation of Coalition :

The conspiracy against Dārā was first hatched by Shujā and Aurangzeb. In the month of December 1652, both Shujā and Aurangzeb were returning towards their respective capitals from their unsuccessful second expedition to Qandahār. Contrary to Shāhjahān's desire, the two brothers halted near Delhi for six days. They, both, spent three days in each other's camp in order to cement their relations. In order to give permanent shape to their alliance, Shujā betrothed his daughter to Aurangzeb's son, Muhammad Sultān, and Aurangzeb betrothed his daughter to Shujā's son, Zain-ul-ābidīn[18]. This dual alliance was presumably a defensive one against their eldest brother Dārā. They knew that Dārā was determined to destroy their powers and that without mutual co-operation they would not be able to cope with him on their father's death and Dārā's accession to the throne. So they promised mutual help to each other and left for their respective capitals. On his way to the Deccan through Mālwa Aurangzeb met Murād at 'Do-rahah' on December 23, 1652, and they came to mutual understanding against Dārā[19]. The dual alliance between Shujā and Aurangzeb thus turned into a triple alliance with the inclusion of Murād. Correspondence continued between the three princes about the future plan of action. Shāhjahān never took his younger son Murād Bakhsh seriously; but he was much perturbed at the news of a matrimonial

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18. ZA. 11; Storia. I. 187; JPHS. July 1962. P. 193.

19. FQ. 412; Ādāb. 23b.

alliance between Shujā and Aurangzeb. He took it seriously and pressed Aurangzeb to drop the proposed alliance. The Emperor did not remain content with putting pressure upon Aurangzeb to set-aside the betrothal; he also tried to win over Shujā by taking him into his favour and confidence against Aurangzeb. The Emperor complained to Shujā that Aurangzeb as a Viceroy was a failure and offered the five Deccan Subahs to Shujā in exchange for Bengal and Orissa[20]. For a few years the three princes corresponded very casually but Shāhjahān's serious illness in the month of September 1657, bringing to the fore the question of succession, once more brought them closer together and a brisk correspondence resumed among them. They hurriedly attempted to give shape to their plan against Dārā. In the middle of October 1657, suddenly Aurangzeb and Murād discovered that they had not been in touch for a long time. Hence they started correspondence between themselves and the main subject matter was Shāhjahān's illness and the activities of Dārā. Each letter was carried by a confidential messenger who was charged with certain oral communications as it was not safe to put down everything on paper. On October 19, 1657, Murād wrote a letter to Shujā proposing an alliance and Aurangzeb helped the courier to proceed safely through his province to Bengal[21].

The correspondence thus started went on briskly. For safe and quick delivery of letters, relays of postal runners were established between Gujarāt and the Deccan. Aurangzeb asked Shujā to agree to a regular and joint service

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20. Aurang. I. 327; Ādāb. 169a; Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P. 218; J. N. Shelat "The Tragedy of Shāhjahān", P. 17; RA. 350.

21. Ādāb. 169a-b, 170b; FQ. 433-34, 417; Aurang. I. P. 327; Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P. 218.

for the conveyance of letters, his men to relay from Aurangabad to the border of Orissa, and Shujā's men from the border of Orissa to Rājmahal. Murād also posted two men at a distance of ten miles all the way from Ahmedabad to the Deccan frontier. Moreover, each prince sent confidential agents to the courts of the other two[22]. The triple alliance, though originating as a defensive measure, during the illness of Shāhjahān, turned ultimately into an offensive one against Dārā. All the three princes had their agents and supporters in the imperial court and through them even the minute events that happened in Northern India reached the provincial capitals of the three princes.

Owing to the long distance and absence of roads, regular correspondence with Shujā was slow and often interrupted, and hence only a general agreement was arrived at with him. But correspondence between Murād and Aurangzeb went on smoothly and soon the two matured a plan of concerted action. To maintain the secrecy of the correspondence Aurangzeb sent on October 23, 1657, a key to a cypher to be used in future[23].

From the very beginning of the alliance, Murād placed himself helplessly under the guidance and tuition of his two elder brothers, especially Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb fully exploited the simplicity and stupidity of his younger brother. In letter after letter, Murād informed Aurangzeb that he was ready for the march and invited his instructions and guidance as how to proceed on[24]. On the other hand, Aurangzeb all along played a game of duplicity with his two partners. In

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22. FQ. 421-22; Ādāb. 171a, 205a-b; JN. Aurangzeb to Shujā. f. 38b; JI. Murād to Aurangzeb. f. 359a.

23. FQ. 424; Ādāb. 169b.

24. FQ. 427, 432; Aurang. I. 328.

a letter to Murād he denounced Shujā as a heretical Shia, expressed his unwillingness to ascend the throne and proposed Murād for the honour[25]. In another letter to Shujā he condemned Murād as a drunkard and debauchee and offered Shujā the Throne[26]. So from the very beginning the wily Aurangzeb adopted the device of tempting his two brothers with the offer of the throne and thus exploited their sincerity and simplicity in order to serve his own interest. Murād became restive and informed Shujā that he was ready for the march and enquired at what time and in which way he should proceed and where they would meet. He also sought his advice as to the number of troops he should take with him and how many should be left behind for the protection of his family. He discouraged the questions of postponing their advance, because their enemy had not yet consolidated his position and they should not allow him a breathing space. Moreover, he declared that if any of the three brothers was attacked by their common enemy, the two others would at once come to his aid. If their foe attempted to deal with one of them, the two others should be informed at once. Aurangzeb also wrote a similar letter to Shujā[27]. In almost all the letters to Shujā both Aurangzeb and Murād complained that the former rarely replied to their letters[28]. From most of the documents it is evident that Shujā, by temperament as well as his distance from his two other younger brothers, had no dominant role in the conspiracy against Dārā though he was a participant from the very beginning. Shāhjahān was almost in the dark about the

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25. Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh", P. 220.

26. Ibid; Careri. 223.

27. FQ. 91-94; RA. 350-52 (Murād's Letter to Shujā); RA. 255-57 (Aurangzeb's Letter to Shujā).

28. RA. 254-55, 257-58 (Aurangzeb's Letter to Shujā).

nature of the conspiracy which took concrete shape during his illness when Dārā controlled the Government.

The Illness of Emperor Shāhjahān in 1657 :

The climate of Delhi became so deplorable in the winter of 1656 that Shāhjahān shifted his court to Garh Mukteshwar, a place on the bank of the Ganga at a distance of about a hundred miles from Delhi. After about one month when he returned to the capital, even then the epidemic had not subsided. Again on February 6, 1657, he left the capital for Mukhlispūr. Attracted by the temperate climate of the place at the foot of the Simur hills and within an easy reach of the capital by boat, the Emperor selected it as his summer capital and constructed a fine palace for himself as well as for his eldest son and named the town as Faizābād[29].

Shāhjahān returned to his capital from Mukhlispūr at the end of April 1657[30]. On September 6, he suddenly fell ill of 'stranguary' and constipation. The royal physicians vainly laboured for a few days to cure the disease. It took an alarming turn; Shāhjahān's lower limbs swelled; his palate and tongue grew very dry and soon his temperature rose dangerously. During this period the royal patient could take neither food, nor medicine. Consequently, he grew very weak[31].

The daily Darbār was stopped and the Emperor ceased to appear before the people at the balcony, and none but Dārā and only a selected few officers had access to his bedside. The sudden disappearance of the Emperor from the public

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29. Wāris. 118b, 119a, 121a-b; Aurang. I. 290.

30. AN. 27, 80-81; TS. 29b-30b; FA. 7b-9a; Aurang. I. 302-03.

31. Wāris. 118b, 119a, 121a-b; Aurang. I. 290.

life and denial of access to the ministers except a few, helped to spread the rumour that Shāhjahān was dead and Dārā was suppressing the fact in order to consolidate his power. After a few weeks hard labour the physicians were at last able to get control over the malady. On September 14, the almost palsied Emperor dragged himself to the window on his bedroom in order to show his face to the anxious public and this he did to prove that he was still living. Large sums were given away in charity among the poor and many prisoners were set free[32]. But a section of people of Delhi yet believed that the Emperor was dead and a person identical in feature and appearance showed himself to the people from the window of the palace, in order to enable them to pay their homage and to be satisfied[33].

Dārā's Bid to Strengthen his Position :

Shāhjahān's serious illness and his withdrawal from public gaze coupled with the denial of access to his bedroom inevitably created suspicion in the minds of the people which spread like wild fire all over the Empire. "The evil was aggravated by Dārā's injudicious action. To smooth the path of his own accession, he set men to watch the ferries and stop all letters and messengers going out to his brothers in Bengal, Gujarāt and the Deccan. He also kept their court agents under watch lest they should send any report to their masters"[34]. But this created greater apprehension all over the Empire and the princes and people living in the distant provinces, being deprived of all kinds of information

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32. Aurang. I. 303.

33. TS. 32b.

34. AN. 28; FQ. 418; TS. 30a-b; Ādāb. 201b; Aurang. I. 313.

from the court, took it for granted that Shāhjahān was no longer alive. The smuggled letters from the capital only confirmed their belief, and the three princes in their headquarters concluded an offensive treaty against Dārā and completed all preparations for their march upon the imperial capital[35]. Aurangzeb proposed to divide the Empire among the three brothers and to hand over Bengal, Bihār and Orissa to Shujā[36].

Secondly, during the Emperor's illness Dārā issued all orders and parwanas in the name of the Emperor. As an agent of his father "he exercised supreme authority and transacted public affairs at his own will"[37]. Meanwhile Shāhjahān's condition slightly improved, but still he was very weak. On October 15, he once more appeared at the 'Jharuka' for public gaze and papers were taken to his chamber to be read out for his orders and letters were issued in his name and under his seal. The Emperor realised that his end was fast approaching. Hence he appointed Dārā as his successor in the presence of all the nobles and instructed them to obey him "as their sovereign in everything, at all times and in every place"[38].

Thirdly, in order to weaken Aurangzeb's position, Mīr Jumla, Mahābat Khān and other imperial generals were recalled from the Deccan[39]. Fourthly, Dārā's partisans and followers were promoted to higher positions. Dārā himself

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35. FQ. 91-92.

36. Poem. 17-18.

37. Aurang. I. 305.

38. Ibid. 306.

39. AN. 29, 34; ZA. 20-21; Aurang. I. 307.

got Bihār in addition to the Punjāb and Multān[40]. Fifthly, the agents of all the princes were deprived of entrance into the court and their movements were kept under strict watch. Isa Beg, the agent of Aurangzeb, was imprisoned and his property was attached. Soon Shāhjahān repented the unmerited persecution of Isa Beg, the honest man, released him and allowed him to meet his master at Burhanpūr in March 1658[41]. Abul Hossain, the agent of Shujā, was also put under fetters[42]. The Emperor realising that his end was very near, wanted to breathe his last quietly at Agra and reached there on November 5, 1657[43]. He entered into the Fort of Agra never to come out of it.

While Dārā was trying his best to consolidate his position, the other princes, in their provincial capitals were not silent spectators. They thought that either the Emperor was dead or he was completely under the thumb of his eldest son. So they immediately staged a revolt against the Emperor with their eyes on the throne of Delhi. Prince Shujā assumed the title "Abdul Fauz Nasir-ud-din Muhammad, Tīmūr III, Alexander II, Shāh Shujā Bahādur Ghazi" and marched towards Delhi at the head of his troops[44]. Murād murdered his dīwān Alī Naqī, plundered Sūrat and finally crowned himself[45]. Aurangzeb was biding his time

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40. FQ. 413-14; Aurang. I. 308.

41. AN. 35, 39; ZA. 18, 23; Aurang. I. 312.

42. TS. 30b.

43. Aurang. I. 304.

44. TS. 32b; Aurang. II. 467; AS. III. 277.

45. AN. 29, 34; ZN. 202b; FQ. 473-74; Aurang. I. 309-10.

watching the situation, and was planning for his march upon Agra[46]. In the course of this disastrous civil war three princes were wiped out tragically and Shāhjahān failed to avoid his fate.

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46. Anec. 6; Ādāb. 205a.

CHAPTER VI.

PRINCE SHUJĀ'S FIRST BID FOR THE THRONE

Prince Shujā Revolted at Rājmahal :

Prince Shujā was the Subedār of Bengal and Orissa since 1639 till he was driven away from Bengal in 1660. The soft, enervating climate, comparatively peaceful political conditions and abundant agricultural production and wealth of the provinces gradually sapped his martial ardour; and his war-loving soldiers turned into ease-loving citizens. During this long period of administration the prince was neither required to face any serious external aggression nor to subdue any powerful internal revolt. He led only three small expeditions to the north-western borders; but he was only the nominal head of those campaigns and personally had to do little or nothing. So he ruled in Bengal very peacefully and, as Bengal was a prosperous province, he never faced shortage of funds and he spent his spare time indulging in the pleasures of the harem. Shujā increased his treasure by regularly collecting taxes and undertaking economic reforms[1]. With this money he, however, maintained a good regular army and a strong artillery.

When the news of Shāhjahān's illness and rumours of his death reached the prince in Bengal, he tried to get the correct information through his agent in the capital. The failure in this respect confirmed him in the belief that the Emperor was no more. So at the end of November 1657, he raised the banner of revolt in concert with the other two younger princes, crowned himself at Rājmahal, and assumed the pompous title "Abdul Fauz Nasiruddin Muhammad,

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1. Storia. I. 242; Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 21; HLR. 26.

Timūr III, Alexander II, Shāh Shujā Bahādur Ghazi"[2]. The Khutba was read in his name and coins were struck bearing the regal title. His immediate object was to march upon the imperial capital with a view to defeat his eldest brother Dārā, whom he suspected had already declared him Emperor. So, he recalled all his soldiers installed at different border posts of Bengal and Orissa to strengthen his main army and to wage the war of succession successfully in his favour. In this way he mustered an army of about forty thousand cavalry, an excellent park of artillery, and a strong fleet of war-boats of Bengal piloted by Portuguese[3]. The noted generals who accompanied the prince in this war were Sayyid Ālam, Jān Beg Khān, Allawardī Khān and Saādat Mān Khān[4]. He took with him camels loaded with gold coins to pay his troops and also to purchase the aid of fresh levies in emergency[5].

Having completed his preparations, Shujā mounted his horse with the exclamation "Ya takht, Ya tabut" (either throne or burial box) and marched towards Agra. On his way he disseminated the news that Shāhjahān had been poisoned to death by Dārā Shukoh and that he was hastening to avenge the murder of his father[6]. On receipt of the report of Shujā's advance towards Agra, the old Emperor, who had recovered a little by that time, promptly wrote to the

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2. TS. 32b; AS. III. 277; Aurang. II. 467.

3. Storia. I. 242; Catrau. 313; Aurang. II. 467; FA. 96; E & D. VII. 214; MU. II. 700; EF. IX. 123; HLR. 26; AB. 22; AN. 29; Poem. 20-21; I.C. April, 1928. P. 193; PIHRC. XXXV. Pt. II. 21; KT. 488.

4. FA. 9b.

5. Catrau. 313.

6. Ibid; Storia. I. 242; Bernier (Const.), Pt. II. 21; HLR. 26.

prince that he was still on the throne and the prince's apprehension about him was unfounded. The Emperor also added that he was grateful for his son's filial love and, at the same time, instructed him to return to his provincial capital like an obedient son[7]. Shujā received this letter of his father during his march, but it was accompanied by another letter from his emissary in the imperial capital wherefrom he came to know that the malady of the Emperor was grave and that his fortunes depended upon the promptitude with which he would appear before the capital. So, Shujā continued his march being almost certain that his father was not alive and that, if the case was contrary to his assumption, he would kiss the Emperor's feet and would return to his capital[8]. So, Shujā marched on and conquered the whole province of Bihār, but his rate of progress was very slow and at every stage he made unnecessary delay. Near Patna Shujā successfully crushed the opposition of the imperial army and continued his progress[9]. In spite of Shāhjahān's advice to the contrary, Shujā advanced towards Agra, passed through Sasaram[10] and reached Benāres on January 24, 1658[11].

When Dārā heard that Shuja, in spite of Shāhjahān's instruction to return, was proceeding towards the imperial capital, he pressed the old Emperor to permit him to send an army against the rebellious prince. So, on November 30, 1657[12], a strong force consisting of 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 foot-musketeers,

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7. Catrau. 313; Storia. I. 242-43; Poem. 21-22; HLR. 26.
8. Catrau. 313; Storia. I. 242-43; Bernier (Const.). 26; HLR. 26.
9. FQ. 95, 96 and 131.
10. Ādāb. 216b.
11. Aurang. II. 467; Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh". 233.
12. Aurang. I. 283; TS. 33b; AN. 31; AS. III. 277; MA. 201a; JPHS. October, 1964. P. 260; but according to Kanungo the imperial army started from Agra in the last week of December 1659 (Dārā Shukoh, P. 228).

200 barqandazes with a well-filled war-chest and many elephants[13], started from Agra. Sulaimān Shukoh, the eldest son of Dārā, was in charge of the army and Rājā Jai Singh was appointed the guardian-cum-adviser of the young prince. The other reputed generals who accompanied Sulaimān were Dilīr Khān, Salābat Khān, Izzad Singh, Bahādur Khān, Rājā Indar Mān, Zulfiqār Khān, Ikhlās Khān, Abdulla Khān and Itimād Khān[14]. Shāhjahān was not happy with this arrangement of Dārā, for he was against civil war among his sons and, unlike Dārā, he was unwilling to take any severe action against any of his sons. But the excessive affection and partiality for his eldest son as well as his serious illness prevented the old Emperor from taking control of events and consequently Dārā was allowed to have his way. Even then, the Emperor called his faithful general Rājā Jai Singh and confidentially instructed him to avert bloodshed if it could be done by persuading Shujā to retire to his own province. But if the Rājā failed to do so, Shujā should only be defeated "but not be destroyed". Jai Singh's relations with Dārā were not happy and he could not believe the latter. So during his absence from the capital, Jai Singh appointed his son, Rām Singh, as his representative, to report directly to him the Emperor's instructions[15].

Soon after the departure of the imperial army from the capital, Shujā wrote a letter to the Emperor regretting his activities and agreed to return to his province if Monghyr, which was a part of Dārā's province of Bihār, was granted to him. Dārā, in his letter dated December 27, 1657, to Jai Singh reported that "..... Although his Majesty, the Kabba of the

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13. Aurang. II. 467; TS. 34a; Ādāb. 215b; AS. III. 277.
14. FA. 9b; TS. 34a; AN. 31; KT. 489; TSC. 128; TU. 75.
15. Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh". 229.

two worlds, said that he would not give Monghyr to him (Shujā) ..... I (Dārā) told His Majesty (Emperor Shāhjahān) that since brother Shāh Shujā has expressed his great repentance, I (Dārā), out of compassion and kindness, restore Monghyr to him on condition that he should vacate the fort of Monghyr and he should not keep any force or artillery there, that his sons shall on no account come to Monghyr and that none except his Amils shall ever come to Monghyr or its vicinity....."[16].

But in spite of this concession, Shujā continued his advance, presumably because the prince could not believe that Shāhjahān was alive. The turn of events made the ailing old Emperor extremely unhappy and he now saw the disastrous fratricidal war almost inevitable. Yet the personal security of Shujā was uppermost in his mind and he made the last attempt to save Shujā. At once in a letter dated January 7, 1658, Dārā on behalf of the Emperor, instructed Jai Singh to proceed towards Patna and if the war with Shujā could not be avoided, he must do it but very cautiously without doing any harm to the prince[17]. But strangely the tone of the letter dated January 24, 1658, written by Dārā, on behalf of Shāhjahān, to Jai Singh, was quite opposite. In this letter Jai Singh was strictly instructed not only to defeat but to bring the head of Shujā before the Emperor. Dārā instructed thus : "His Majesty highly desires that the head of the disrespectful (Shujā) should be severed and brought to his presence..... ..... This may be treated as urgent"[18]. Dārā in his letter dated January 31,

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16. PIHRC. XXXV. Pt. II. 27; DGM. 41; Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh". 228-29; JRP. 40-42.

17. JRP. 8-10; PIHRC. XXXV. Pt. II. 28.

18. JRP. 44-45; PIHRC. XXXVI. Pt. II. 99.

1658, to Jai Singh harped on the same string and reminded that "..... Every day he (Shāhjahān) says from his inspired tongue as to when will it so happen that the severed head of the disobedient one (Shujā) shall be produced before him (Shāhjahān), it shall be the realization of his aim....."[19]. The contents of the letters dated January 24 and 31, 1658, are contradictory to those of the letter dated January 7, 1658. It is difficult to believe that Shāhjahān had really given orders for the head of one of his sons, or whether they were not unscrupulous and horrible inventions of Dārā to finish his rival and make his position secure. In another letter to Jai Singh, Dārā wrote that Shāhjahān had asked Rām Singh to write to his father (Jai Singh) for the head of Shujā[20]. This also comes from the pen of Dārā and, like the previous letters, this might also be a pure fabrication to hoodwink Jai Singh, because Rām Singh, in fact, wrote no letter to his father, Jai Singh, conveying the orders of the Emperor and the Rājā, being a faithful servant of the old Emperor, was as stiff and cold as he was before and there was no change in his conduct[21]. What is more strange, the alleged order of Shāhjahān to Rām Singh was, if any, given in public, but no hints of this kind of order are available either in any official or unofficial records, when all kinds of royal orders were supposed to be officially recorded. Secondly, almost all the letters to Jai Singh, including the above, were written by Dārā on behalf of the Emperor. Dārā's hatred, from the very beginning, for his younger brothers and his determination to crush them, strengthen the suspicion that the contents of the letters were not according to

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19. PIHRC. XXXVI. Pt. II. 100-101.

20. JPR. 66, 71; Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh". 230.

21. Kanungo "Dārā Shukoh". 231.

Shāhjahān's instructions. They were horrible creations of his own mind. If those were according to the instructions of the Emperor, Shāhjahān would not repent, as he did, for Shujā's defeat and ruin at Bahādurpūr[22]. However, in spite of Dārā's complementary words and phrases, Jai Singh did not hasten his slow advance[23] and this he did with a view to give Shujā time and opportunity to retire unmolested as the old Emperor heartily had desired it. At last the imperial army reached near Bahādurpūr about January 25, 1658[24]. Shujā, as expected by Rājā Jai Singh, did not withdraw.

The Battle of Bahādurpūr :

Shujā with his army advanced up to Bahādurpūr and took his position in the midst of an inaccessible forest and a stream at a distance of about 1.1/2 Kos, from the imperial camp. The Ganga which was flowing in the rear of his camp was well guarded by his naval force. The imperial force had to remain inactive for nearly twenty days and they could only attack the Bengal army at the risk of a terrible onslaught on their own[25]. To overcome this problem Dārā, who was in constant touch with the imperial army, advised Jai Singh first to seek the help of the local Rājpūt Chief, named Gokul (or Goklat)[26] of Ujjainiya, (of the Dumraon Zamīndār family) to make passage through the inaccessible forest and then to cut off the supplies of the Shujāites by blocking all the roads and

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22. Poem. 39-40.
23. JRP. 64, 137; PIHRC. IX. 89-91.
24. Ādāb. 216b; Aurang. II. 468.
25. JRP. 30-33, 60-63; PIHRC. XXXVI. Pt. II. 102-03; Kanungo. 233.
26. JRP. 7; Kanungo. 234; according to PIHRC. XXXVI. Pt. II the name of the Rājpūt Chief was Koklat. (P. 102).

thus to compell the latter to surrender. But the suggestion was not worked upon[27]. Shujā remained undisturbed in such a well-defended place and he got regular supplies of provisions by way of the Ganga which was under his control. Sulaimān, being pressed by his father and prompted by his ambition to win a glorious victory over his uncle, became very restive to attack the enemy. But, even then, Rājā Jai Singh did not give up the idea of a peaceful settlement and of avoiding bloodshed. In a letter to Shujā, the Rājā appreciated the tenderness of the prince for his father and the cause of his revolt but at the same time confirmed that Shāhjahān was alive and instructed the prince that he should return to his provincial capital as an obedient son without shedding the blood of the people. The prince was highly impressed by this letter and some time pondered over the steps to be taken. He feared that if he returned to his province, his two younger brothers who had already proceeded towards Agra, might capture the throne. So he disregarded the sane advice of the Rājā and eventually decided to continue the open revolt. To deceive the Rājā, he wrote a letter saying : "The whole Empire bears witness that I have quitted Bengal with no other intention than of seeking satisfaction for the poisoning of my father. He lives and I am satisfied. I limit my ambition to continue submission to his orders in the territory which he has assigned to me. Take your departure as quickly as possible; and conveying to my father of the account of my unlimited obedience. All which I expect (in order that I may not appear to be flying from you) is that you will be the first to retire; a compliance of this condition will be in consonance with my prestige as also with that of my nephew Sulaimān Shukoh. Save my honour and you shall find me obedient"[28]. The real intention of Shujā

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27. JRP. 5-7; PIHRC. XXXV. Pt. II. 102-03.

28. Catrau. 214-15; Storia. I. 244-45; Poem. 30-32.

was to attack the retreating imperial army from the rear and thus to overhelm it.

Rājā Jai Singh, a seasoned and veteran general, sensed the plan of Shujā and played a trick on him. He pretended to acquiesce with the conditions of Shujā and in the night proceeding February 14, 1658, ordered the imperial army to strike their tents, and even a few were asked to march towards Delhi early next morning; while most of the army were asked to be ready for a surprise attack. Shujā, being informed of the retreat of the imperial army, became slack in vigilance and kept sleeping till late hours. His officers too were off their guard. But, all of a sudden, they were awakened by the din of the soldiers, for Sulaimān Shukoh, very early in the morning of February 14, suddenly fell on the Bengal army with all his strength. Thus taken by surprise and almost overwhelmed, there was hardly any opportunity to offer resistence. So everybody hastily sought for his own safety. "The tumult broke Shujā's sleep. He was lying on a couch covered with mosquito-nets. He got up, mounted an elephant and hurried off to retrieve the day; but the battle had already been lost. The enemy had swamped into his camp and were looting it"[29]. Almost all his generals, except a faithful few, without caring to know what happened to their master, fled away. Here and there, the scattered soldiers were resisting the enemy not to gain a victory but to plod their way to safety. The prince was surrounded and attacked by about three thousand men. Undaunted, he bravely faced their attacks. When he was vainly attempting to re-assemble his fugitive soldiers, the enemy tried to capture his elephant. An intrepid imperial officer, named Rājā Anirudh Gaur, attacked the elephant and slashed its leg. Now, Shujā had no other alternative

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29. Aurang. II. 469.

but to leave the battle field. The elephant was driven to the bank of the Ganga where his boats were ready. On the river bank also he was greatly pressed by the enemy but the counter-charges of his devoted followers, under Mīr Isfandyār Mamuri and Sayyid Ismaīl Bukhari, helped him to break through the enemy cordon and to dismount from the elephant. He quickly boarded the waiting boat which at once sailed towards Bengal[30].

Sulaimān's men now plundered the entire abandoned camp of Shujā. The imperialists seized tents, jewels, furniture and other booty, besides treasure both private and official, horses and elephants. Large numbers of Shujā's soldiers were made prisoner and were sent to Agra where they were severely punished. Shujā's personal loss amounted to about fifty lakhs of rupees and his Chief Minister, Mirzā Jān Beg's loss was about six lakhs worth of property excluding horses and elephants. From the prince to the lowest menial, every person lost his belongings, the total cost of which was no less than two crores of rupees. The huge quantity of armaments, which the prince brought from Bengal, fell into the hands of the enemy and added to their strength. Many soldiers of Shujā, who out of fear jumped into the Ganga, were drowned. The devastation of Shujā's camp resembled the battle field of 'Karbala'[31].

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30. Ibid. 468-70; Catrau. 216; Storia. I. 245; TS. 34a-36b; Poem. 36-37; KT. 489; AS. II. 278; MA. 201a; JPHS. October, 1646. P. 261; the writer of Fatuhat-i-Alamgīrī states that Jai Singh conspired with Sulaimān to capture Shujā alive or to kill him. But this statement does not seem to be correct because Jai Singh, who all along wanted to avoid open conflict and allowed Shujā to retreat safely even after his defeat at Bahādurpūr, cannot be said to have formed a conspiracy to capture Shujā alive or to kill him. FA. 12a-15a.

31. Aurang. 470; Catrau. 216; Stria. I. 245; TS. 37a-b.

Flight of Shujā from Bahādurpūr :

Sufferings of his men : The fugitive Shujā at once sped down the river towards Bengal. He could not even see how many of his soldiers had been left behind. The Shujāites later reached the river bank but missed the boats and perished as victims to the swords of the imperialists. The prince and his followers in the boats sailed non-stop for about ten miles after which they suddenly saw that Mirzā Jān Beg, a Minister of Shujā, was coming on horse-back with about 400 of his cavalry. Fearing that they might be overtaken by the soldiers of Sulaimān, Shambas, the Kashmīrī boatman of Shujā, called Jān Beg to the boat. But the main army, about 15,000 under the leadership of Allawardī Khān, Muhammad Hayat and Muhammad Jafar, marched towards Patna via Sasaram. They were riding on Irāqī horses and were passing through unknown country under great difficulties and miseries. The sufferings of the retreating army have been graphically described by Jadunāth Sarkār in the following language : "So thoroughly demoralised were they that disgraceful scenes marked their precipitate flight. Every small group of half-naked peasants, walking behind them stick in hand, was magnified by their terror-stricken imagination into the pursuing army, whose arrival they dreaded every moment. The vanquished warriors, though ten to fifteen thousand strong, clad in mail and cuirass and mounted on chargers, quickly let themselves be stripped of their all by small bands of such villagers. Some even threw away their own accountrements and money to facilitate their flight ! The village women turned the soldiers aside, promising to give them drinking water, and then snatched away their cloth and property, while the heroes durst not protest even by a word"[32]. In this predicament the soldiers

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32. Aurang. 471.

reached Patna on February 19, 1658, and the entire road of retreat was littered with their abandoned elephants, camels, fine horses, mules, costly articles and bags of coins which were appropriated by the villagers[33].

Sulaimān, after freely plundering the abandoned camps of Shujā, proceeded in pursuit of his uncle. But the rapidity of his march was intercepted by the slow advance of Jai Singh. As Jai Singh was not willing to arrest Shujā, he allowed him to retreat, while young Sulaimān could not proceed in the unknown country without the help of Jai Singh. Shujā reached Patna within five days of the battle of Bahādurpūr while the imperialists took twenty days to reach there. On the arrival of the enemy near Patna, Shujā retreated further towards Monghyr and encamped at Surajgarh[34] till the end of March. Soon Sulaimān arrived near Surajgarh through Jitpur and occupied the city of Surajgarh which had been abandoned by Shujā a few days earlier. Shujā collected some treasure from the city of Patna and Surajgarh and he had made up his mind to resist the enemy near Monghyr. With tremendous effort and constant supervision he raised a two-mile long wall across a narrow plain between the hills of Kharagpur and the river Ganga. The rampart was strongly fortified by all types of weapons and the Commander-in-Charge of the fortification was strictly ordered to be alert and keep constant vigilence over persons leaving or entering the fort as well as also on the enemy's approach. This fortification put a check on the advance of the imperialists and Sulaimān, with the help of the local Zamīndārs, reached near Monghyr by a round-about way through the woods[35].

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33. Ibid. 471-72; TS. 39b-40a.

34. Surajgarh is 15 miles south-west of Monghyr.

35. TS. 40a-41a; Aurang. II. 472; JPR. 53-56.

Prince Shujā's Treaty with Sulaimān :

The appearance of Sulaimān near Monghyr perturbed the soldiers of Bengal and their confidence was greatly shaken. Being severely pressed by the enemy, Shujā despatched Mīr Murtazā and Himmat Singh to Sulaimān with proposals for peace. He promised to leave Monghyr on condition that he and his soldiers would not be pursued beyond Garhi. Rājā Jai Singh suggested that Prince Shujā should send one of his ministers for peace talks. Shujā thereupon proposed that a man should be sent to take Jān Beg, his minister, to the imperial camp according to the proposal of Jai Singh[36]. Fortunately at this stage Shujā was saved from the impending danger by the defeat at Dharmat of Jaswant Singh, Dārā's General at the hands of Aurangzeb and Murād, on April 15, 1658. Sulaimān was, therefore, ordered from Agra to patch up a pact with his uncle at once and to march hurriedly towards the capital to face the approaching forces of Aurangzeb and Murād. In pursuance of the imperial order, Jai Singh at the instruction of Sulaimān, visited the camp of Shujā and opened peace talks. Jai Singh was received by Shujā with great honour and, at the time of his departure the Rājā, in turn, requested the prince to send Mirzā Jān Beg to the imperial camp for the purpose of effectuating a re-approachment. Mirzā Jān Beg visited the camp of Sulaimān which was at a distance of 30 miles (15 Kos) and was received with great pomp and civility. All arrangements were made to show hospitality to the Minister of Shujā and talks continued for four days between Mirzā Jān Beg and Rājā Jai Singh. But suddenly Jān Beg fell ill and became very weak. He was carried to his master to whom he narrated the nature of the talks that had taken place between

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36. JPR. 69-73.

Jai Singh and himself. At last both the parties came to an understanding and it was decided that Shujā would be allowed to retain Bengal, Orissa, and Monghyr within his viceroyalty with his headquarters at Rājmahal, as before. On May 7, 1658, Mirzā Jān Beg and Jai Singh signed the treaty on behalf of their respective principals. Jān Beg was rewarded with an Irāqī horse, robes of honour and other gifts. After signing the treaty Shujā returned to his capital at Rājmahal[37]. Thus the first bid of Shujā for the imperial throne ended with a resounding rebuff. The prince lost all his wealth which he had amassed over years, his armoury was depleted and his entire army was practically destroyed. But the disaster, however grave, weakened him only for the time being, it did not cripple him for good. For, as we shall see, Shujā would get a few months time before his war against Aurangzeb at Khajwa (June 5, 1659). Within this short interval of respite, he marvellously recovered from the effects of the blows he had received. He renewed his activities with intense fervour to challenge the imperial might of Aurangzeb.

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37. Ibid. 46-53, 69-70; TS. 41b-42a, 52a-56a; Poem. 46-52; Aurang. II. 473; Dārā's letter instructing Sulaimān to return Agra quickly. JRP. 39.

CHAPTER VII.

THE SECOND BID FOR THE THRONE

Seizure of Power by Aurangzeb :

Shujā's defeat at Bahādurpūr (February 14, 1658) shattered his ambition for the throne and darkened his future. While Sulaimān and Jai Singh were chasing Shujā towards his capital, fortunately a side wind, which rose from the south, cleared the sky and gave Shujā respite. This ray of hope kindled his ambition and he started his preparations for a fresh trial of strength.

While Sulaimān, after the battle of Bahādurpūr, was pursuing Shujā, his two other uncles, Aurangzeb and Murād revolted in the south and marched towards the imperial capital. Their armies united at Dipalpūr in Mālwa on April 14, 1658, and they totally crushed the opposition of Jaswant Singh, the general of Dārā, in the battle of Dharmat on April 15, and resumed their march towards the capital. By swift marches Aurangzeb and Murād reached the vicinity of Agra and encamped outside the city on May 28, 1658. Next morning, Dārā Shukoh arranged his army numbering about 50,000. It was composed of a miscellaneous host of diverse elements and from different localities. But Dārā received the severest mauling when he was totally defeated in the field of Sāmūgarh at the hands of his two younger brothers on May 29, 1658. Dārā in despair, fled to the capital (Agra), but declined to enter the fort; and at 3 O'clock in the night started on his miserable flight towards Delhi with his wife Nadira Bānū, children and a dozen servants only. The sun of Dārā set before the rising glory of Aurangzeb.

On May 30, Aurangzeb personally arrived before the capital (Agra) and addressed a letter to the old Emperor explaining his recent conduct as having

been forced upon him by his enemies. Soon he threw off his mask and on June 5, he besieged the fort. Shāhjahān at once closed the gates of the fort, but Aurangzeb compelled the old Emperor to surrender and forced open the gates by stopping water supply into the fort from the Jumna. On June 8, all the gates of the fort were opened to the officers of Aurangzeb and Shāhjahān thereafter became a prisoner in the hands of Aurangzeb and was divested of all powers.

After establishing his authority in the capital (Agra) and posting his eldest son Muhammad Sultān to guard the city, Aurangzeb and Murād set out from Agra towards Delhi in pursuit of Dārā. Soon both the brothers became suspicious of each other and Aurangzeb with the intention of making a final deal with Murād, suddenly halted at Mathura and on June 25, 1658, invited Murād to his camp and at night held him prisoner in a drunken state and threw him immediately into the fort of Gwālior where Murād lingered and languished till he was beheaded in December 4, 1661.

Prince Shujā got a letter from Aurangzeb :

Soon Aurangzeb reached Delhi and on July 21, 1658, for the first time, crowned himself Emperor of India. The new Emperor decided to resume his pursuit of Dārā who was flying towards the Punjāb. On the way Aurangzeb collected an army to give him fresh fight. But before doing it he thought it wise to conciliate Shujā who was again re-assembling his shattered resources[1]. So Aurangzeb wrote a letter to Shujā from Agra to the following effect : "As you had often before begged the Emperor Shāhjahān for the province of Bihār, I now add it to your viceroyalty. Pass some time peacefully in administering and

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1. TS. 86b.

repairing your broken power. When I return after disposing of the affair of Dārā I shall try to gratify your other wishes. Like a true brother I shall not refuse you anything that you desire, be it land or money"[2]. In reply to this letter Shujā gave thanks to Aurangzeb for adding Bihār to his jāgīr. Simultaneously he started his preparations for a rapid march towards the imperial capital. It appears that he had seen through Aurangzeb's trick[3].

Prince Shujā's Second March towards Agra :

Aurangzeb, after crowning himself as the Emperor of India at Delhi, marched towards the Punjāb in pursuit of Dārā. The news of Aurangzeb's absence from the capital in the far-off Punjab kindled Shujā's ambition. The prince, after his treaty with Sulaimān, was working hard to recover his power. He was determined not to allow this golden opportunity to slip. To the objections of his officers, he replied that Aurangzeb had left no efficient general nor any army between Bengal and the capital and that most of the efficient generals of his brother were with him in the Punjāb. If Muhammad Sultān, who was then in charge of Agra in the absence of his father, came out to resist him, he could be won over. He planned to secure the person of Shāhjahān and restore the old government. Then he would stay in the court as his father's obedient servant. He could not allow this chance to slip[4]. Soon he proceeded to Patna where he met his general Mīr Isfandyār Mamuri, who had been wounded in the battle of

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2. AN. 223; TS. 87a-b; FA. 39a; Aurang. II. 474.

3. AN. 224; TS. 88a; FA. 39a.

4. AN. 224; TS. 96a-97a; Aurang II 475; Dc M.35.

Bahādurpūr and taken as a prisoner to Agra, but subsequently he escaped from prison during the confusion following Dārā's defeat in the battle of Sāmūgarh. Among Shujā's generals, only Mīr Isfandyār supported his plan and urged him to make a bold attempt for the crown[5].

At the end of October 1658, Shujā marched from Patna at the head of about 25,000 soldiers consisting of artillery, cavalry, elephant and a vast flotilla[6]. Aurangzeb on receipt of this news, was much perturbed, and he at once sent Mukhlis Khān with a letter to Shujā. In that letter Shujā was requested to be considerate towards him and not to violate his promise by marching upon the capital. He also wanted to know the object of Shujā's untimely march, and promised to meet him after settling the affair of Dārā. At the same time Aurangzeb threatened Shujā that if he acted otherwise, he (Shujā) would be responsible for the consequences[7]. But Shujā ignoring the warning continued his march. In the beginning, fortune seemed to smile on him. Dātā, after his defeat and flight towards the Punjāb, ordered all the officers who were in charge of the forts in the Eastern provinces to surrender them to Shujā. So when Shujā reached Rohtās, Rām Singh, the Commandant of Rohtās, opened the gate of the fort to Shujā[8]. Shujā, after posting his officers there, proceeded on and arrived at Chunar. Sayyid Ālam Jalīl, the Commander of Chunar,

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5. TS. 97a, 99a; Aurang. II. 475; according to KT Shujā was also requested by Dārā to rise in revolt in Bengal against Aurangzeb. KT. 513.

6. Aurang. II. 475; E & D.VII. 232; according to 'Ādāb' the number of Shujā's army was about 30,000. Ādāb. 66b, 134a, 207a.

7. TS. 99b-100a; M.A. 211a; AN. 226.

8. AN. 225; Ādāb. 235b. KT. 528; E & D. VII. 232; Aurang. II. 475.

also followed the example of Rām Singh and Shujā posted his officers in that fort also and continued his march[9]. From Chunar Shujā despatched Sayyid Ālam at the head of a regiment to the north of the Ganga against Jaunpur. Mukarram Khān Safvī, the fort-holder of Jaunpur, after a feeble resistance, submitted and joined Shujā's service[10]. Shujā then collected revenue from all over the area from Patna to Benāres. From the merchants and rich citizens, both Hindū and Muslim, of Benāres and its suburbs, he extorted about three lakhs of rupees[11].

Shujā reached Allahābād on December 23, 1658. On his arrival Khān-i-Daurān, who was besieging the fort under the order of Aurangzeb, raised the siege, and retreated to Korah[12]. Sayyid Kāshem, following Dārā's order as referred to already, opened the gate of the fort of Allahābād to Shujā's men and Shujā took the former in his service. Shujā then seized all the properties of Sulaimān left in that fort and sent them to Bengal[13]. Sayyid Tāj-ud-din, an influential person of Allahābād joined Shujā. The prince halted at Allahābād and then crossed the river Ganga. At this stage Mīr Abul Maālī, one of his servants, left him and joined the imperial army[14]. Near Kora Ghatampur, Shujā's

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9. AN. 225; Ādāb. 235b; KT. 529; Aurang. II. 475.

10. AN. 239; Ādāb. 237b; MA. 211a; Aurang. II. 476.

11. AN. 239; Ādāb. 237b; MA. 211a; Aurang. II. 476; KT. 529; E & D. VII. 232.

12. AN. 240; Ādāb. 236a; Aurang. II. 476.

13. AN. 225; Ādāb. 236a; KT. 516, 529; TU. 159; LT. 128b; TS. 101a; ZA. 74; E & D. VII. 232; Aurang. II. 476.

14. AN. 240.

advance, was checked and he confronted an imperial army under Muhammad Sultān, Khān-i-Daurān, and Zulfiqār Khān[15]. On January 2, 1659, Aurangzeb also joined his son at Kora Ghatampur. The imperial army got additional strength by the arrival of Mīr Jumla from Khandesh on January 3, 1659, to assist Aurangzeb. On December 30, 1658, Shujā reached the village of Khajwa[16] and finding his way blocked by the enemy he encamped in that village with his efficient and well-organised artillery, mainly managed by the Europeans, and occupied the lake in the midst of the great plain[17].

The Rival Armies at Khajwa :

There was a spacious plain between the two rival armies. Shujā took his position on a higher level[18]. Aurangzeb was unwilling to lose any time and he gave battle on Tuesday, January 4, 1659. On that day Shujā came to the field on an elephant at the head of a big force. The prince himself was in the centre along with Allawardī Khān and Abdur Rahmān at the head of 10,000 soldiers. The right and left flanks of the army were defended by Buland Ākhtar, Sayyid Ālam, Sayyid Kāshem, Sanjār Saifullah, two sons of Allawardī, and Hasan Kheshgi with about 9000 soldiers. In the front line of Shujā were Zain-ul-ābidīn, and

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15. Ibid. 226, 236; TS. 101a-b; Poem. 122-23; Ādāb. 238a; ZA. 74; Aurang. II. 479.

16. Khajwa is in the Fatehpur District, 5 miles S.W. of the Bindi Road Station on the E. Railway. It is situated at a distance of 10 miles from Ganga on its north and Jumna on its south and Kora is situated 8 miles west of Khajwa.

17. AN. 242; Poem. 123-24; TS. 112a; MA. 6; Ādāb. 237a; ZA. 75; Storia I. 328-29; EFIX. 168; Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 62; Catrau. 259; according to KK the distance between the two armies was half a Kos. E & D. VII. 233.

18. HLR. 75.

Mukarram Khān Safvī and Abul Maālī was in charge of the artillery[19]. The generals of Shujā had many elephants dressed in gold trappings and were well-equipped with a profuse supply of cannon and rockets[20].

At about 'Charprahar' the enemy advanced towards Shujā's army. The battle was fiercely contested and many were slain on both sides. Shujā heroically maintained his ground, repulsed all the enemy attacks with great slaughter and increased Aurangzeb's embarrassment by being all the while on the elevated and well fortified position. At the approach of the night, Shujā's artillery returned to the camp and the battle remained undecided that day. But soon after the return of the Bengal army to their camps, Mīr Jumla, the sagacious general of Aurangzeb, lost no time in capturing that highly advantageous position vacated by Shujā's army and placed a cannon there. This was done very secretly under the cover of darkness without raising any suspicion in the mind of Shujā[21]. The Shujāites committed a great blunder by vacating the elevated position at the end of the day, thereby giving an opportunity for Mīr Jumla to occupy it to his great advantage and to the great disadvantage of Shujā.

Jaswant Singh's Intrigue with Shujā against Aurangzeb :

Jaswant Singh, the great Rājpūt General of Aurangzeb, was not well-disposed towards his master. He was an erstwhile loyal general of Shāhjahān and also a staunch supporter of Dārā. Moreover, he could not forget his defeat at the hands of Aurangzeb in the battle field of Dharmat. In the battle of

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19. Poem. 127; AN. 250; Ādāb. 239a; ZA. 76; KT. 531; TSCI. 63; LT. 130a-b; MA. 212a.

20. Poem. 127.

21. Ibid. 128; TS. 101b; AN. 251-52; Ādāb. 239b; LT. 130b; Storia. I. 328; MA. 7; Aurang. II. 480-81; HLR. 75-76.

January 4, Jaswant found that as a warrior Shujā was not at all inferior to Aurangzeb, but that Shujā was badly in need of troops to obtain a parity with his younger brother. Jaswant Singh thought that if he joined Shujā with all his Rājpūt soldiers, the back-bone of the imperial army would be broken and Aurangzeb could be easily overwhelmed by the united strength of the Rājpūt and Bengal soldiers and thereby the Rājā would be able to avenge his past discomfiture and disgrace. So, he opened secret negotiations with Shujā in the night of January 4, and sent a message to the prince through a faithful servant named Jogi Dās in which he proposed to join the prince. Shujā sent his reply through his messenger named Qubad in which he instructed the Rājā to attack the imperial army from the rear during the battle[22]; but this proposal disheartened Jaswant Singh. Shujā did not accept the proposal presumably because he could not fully believe the Rājā and feared that it might be a trick of Aurangzeb, to defeat him. Secondly, the prince might have thought that even if the proposal of the Rājā was genuine, the latter's arrival with his vast army might create chaos in his own camp and that this might help his enemy in the next day's battle. Jaswant Singh was highly disappointed and at the dead of night, in league with other Rājpūt leaders, left the imperial camp with all Rājpūt troops numbering about 14,000 plundered everything on the way and slaughtered all who opposed them. Alarm and confusion spread quickly all over the imperial camp which caused much loss[23]. During his departure Jaswant sent the following message

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22. TS. 111b; FA. 40b-41a; AN. 225.

23. TS. 110a-b; FA. 40b, 41a; AN. 254-55; MA. 7; AS. III. 323; Adāb. 239b-240a; Akham. 33a-b; ZA. 77; KT. 532; LT. 131b-132a; Anec. 44; Storia. I. 329; HLR. 76; Aurang. II. 481-83; IC.OC. 1946. P. 352; IA. 104; Orme. II. 31; Tods. II. 876.

to Shujā : "When I do this, the King (Aurangzeb) will come in pursuit of me; you must then charge sharply upon his forces"[24]. But when Jaswant Singh fled with his Rājpūt soldiers towards Agra, the imperial army did not follow him, nor did Shujā utilise the opportunity, during the confusion, to attack the enemy. Shujā got Jaswant's last message, heard of the tumult in the imperial camp, but did not dare to come out of his camp and to fight. Shujā feared that it might be another contrivance between Aurangzeb and Jaswant Singh to lure him to his destruction[25]. So he did not take the risk of attacking the enemy in the darkness of night and decided to wait till the morning. But by this time Aurangzeb very calmly, under the wise counsel of Mīr Jumla, recovered his position and the golden opportunity slipped out of Shujā's hand.

Deployment of Shujā's Army on the Day of Battle of 5th January :

As we have seen, Shujā failed to exploit the confusion in the imperial camp in the previous night to his advantage. So in the morning of 5th January, he had to confront a strong determined army nearly double in number of his own army[26]. Shujā rightly realised that he should not follow the traditional plan of the battle and so he arranged his army division by division because the enemy out numbered his forces by 2:1. He arranged his army in one line, behind the artillery. The right wing of the army was commanded by his eldest son, Zain-ul-ābidīn, and Sayyid Ālam at the head of 5,000 soldiers. Hasan Khesgi, Abdur

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24. KK. II. 50.

25. Aurang. II. 484.

26. In the second day imperial army was about 50,000 even after Jaswant's departure whereas Shujā had only about 23,000 soldier.
Aurang. II. 485; ZA. 76.

Rahman and Mukarram Khān were put in charge of the left wing and 4,000 soldiers were at their disposal. Shujā himself and his second son, Buland Ākhtar, Shaikh Walī and Allawardī Khān defended the centre at the head of 10,000 men. Sayyid Qasim and Shaikh Zarīf were put in the vanguard. Isfandyār Beg at the head of 2,000 soldiers was kept as reserve behind the right wing while Sayyid Qulī was kept as reserve with another 2,000 men behind the left wing[27]. "With true generalship Shujā determined to assume the offensive, and make up for the smallness of his number by the moral superiority which the attacking party always has. The first stage of the battle justified his forecast"[28].

The Battle of Khajwa :

On January 5, the decisive battle started at 8 A.M. with a furious artillery duel; and cannon, rockets and muskets were discharged by both the parties which created havoc on each side. One cannon ball discharged by the enemy struck the elephant of Zain-ul-Ābidīn and wounded the driver and the personal servant of the prince, but the rider narrowly escaped. Now the two armies drew close to each other and discharged arrows on each other[29]. Sayyid Ālam charged the left wing of the enemy, pushing forward his three infuriated elephants, each brandishing an iron chain about three maunds in weight in its trunk. Neither men nor beasts could stand in their way. The imperial left, weak for want of an efficient general, collapsed and melted away. The panic soon spread even to the centre, the enemy soldiers lost their courage and ran

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27. TS. 104a; AN. 257; Ādāb. 240a; LT. 132b; ZA. 76; Aurang. II. 487-88.

28. Aurang. II. 488.

29. AN. 258; TS. 103a-104b; Ādāb. 240a; KK. II. 54-55; Aurang. II. 488.

about in confusion[30]. At that time rumours were there in the air that Aurangzeb was dead and that Jaswant Singh had re-appeared. These wild gossips worsened the confusion in the enemy's ranks and many of their soldiers including the veterans of the south joined the stream of flight[31].

The Bengal army after clearing the left wing of the enemy pushed on towards the centre where Aurangzeb was guarded only by 2,000 soldiers. Murtazā Khān and Hasan Alī Khān of the enemy's reserve came forward and blocked Sayyid Ālam's advance towards Aurangzeb. But the three infuriated elephants continued their frenzied march destroying everything in their way; their wounds, from the attack of the imperial army, made them more ferocious then ever. One of them advanced very close to Aurangzeb and made his position very critical. Aurangzeb remained unmoved on his elephant and chained its legs to prevent its flight out of fear[32]. At his order Jalāl Khān shot down the driver of the attacking elephant. Immediately some imperial elephants surrounded it and one brave driver leaped on that beast and brought it under control. The other two elephants of Sayyid Ālam ran away in front of the centre towards the right wing[33].

Being encouraged by the success of Sayyid Ālam's charge, Shujā's vanguard and the left wing led by Buland Ākhtar, Shaikh Walī, Shaikh Zarīf,

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30. KK. II. 56; Aurang. II. 488.

31. Ādāb. 7; Aurang. II. 489.

32. KK. II. 56; Aurang. II. 490.

33. Aurang. II. 490.

Hasan Kheshgi and others led a concerted attack on the enemy's right wing without giving any respite to Aurangzeb. In spite of the smallness of numbers, the attack of the Shujāites was so violent that many of the enemies fled away; only a few of the captains with great difficulty however maintained their posts[34]. Aurangzeb now became the target of Shujā's attack. The Shujāites showered arrows on the enemy, one of which killed the driver of Aurangzeb's elephant. At this perilous moment when Aurangzeb was about to put one foot out of the 'Howdah' to descend, Mīr Jumla, who was just behind him on another elephant, prevented him from taking such a fatal step. Aurangzeb realised the danger and remained on his elephant in spite of the ferocity of the attack[35]. Curiously enough, all the Persian sources are silent about this incident, although they agree with other sources that Shujā and his generals pressed hard on the enemies and made Aurangzeb's position very critical. The elephant of Islām Khān, the commander of the imperial right wing, being frightened by a rocket, took to flight leaving his troops incomplete disarray. The Bengal army killed the commander of the right wing artillery and his son. But the troops of Shujā, who were taking lead in the war, were checked in their advance for want of necessary and prompt support from behind and by the sudden appearance of Saif Khān and Akram Khān from the vanguard of the right wing of the imperial army[36].

Soon the tables were turned on Shujā and the day eventually went against him tragically. The enemy's right wing, having recovered from the

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34. TS. 103a.

35. Storia. II. 330; HLR. 76; Steward "History of Bengal", 295.

36. Aurang. II. 491-92.

first shock, made a counter charge while the imperial generals from other sides encircled the Shujāites. One after another, Shujā lost his best generals. Shaikh Walī Farmuli, the leader of Buland Akhtar's van, was slain. Hasan Kheshgi, the general of Shujā's left wing, fell down wounded. Shaikh Zarīf, a Commandant of the vanguard, after a heroic fight in front of Aurangzeb, was captured by the enemy in a wounded condition. Buland Akhtar, out of fear, fled to his father. Shujā's misfortune did not end here and he became more helpless when two of his generals, Mukarram Khān and Abdur Rahmān Sultān (son of Nazr Muhammad Khān, ex-King of Balkh), deserted him and joined Aurangzeb[37]. The enemy under Zulfiqār Khān and Muhammad Sultān charged Shujā's army with such ferocity that the Bengal army was forced to retreat to a safe distance. The enemy encircled them from three sides and made a concerted attack in which many of the personal attendants of Shujā perished. Cannon balls weighing about 16 to 20 lbs, discharged by the enemy, passed over Shujā's head and killed or wounded his soldiers in great numbers. In such a critical condition Shujā, on the advice of Isfandyār Mamuri, descended from his elephant to ride on a horse[38].

But Manucci and Bowrey give a different version with regard to this episode. Their statements were corroborated by Sālim Ghulam Hussain and Faiz Bakhsh. According to them when Jaswant Singh left the imperial camp in the night of January 4, Aurangzeb, at the instigation of Mīr Jumla, wrote a letter

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37. AN. 263-64; Ādāb. 240b; AS. III. 325-26; TS. 103b-104b; MA. 78; Aurang. II. 492. According to 'Khulasat-ul-tawārīkh' Allawardī Khān also deserted Shujā and joined the imperial army. KT. 535.

38. TS. 103a-105a; Aurang. II. 493.

to Allawardī Khān, a minister as well as a general of Shujā, in the following language : "Allawardī Khān ! if this day you wish to make me King of Hindūstan it would suffice to induce Shāh Shujā to get down from his elephant during the battle, and I pledge you my word to reward you and all your family, who are on my side. I have the strongest hope that you will not fail me". On the following day (5th January) when Aurangzeb was heavily charged by Shujā and his generals, the former sent a meaasage to Allawardī Khān reminding him his offer. Allawardī, on receipt of the meaasage, went to his master and called out to him : "Congratulations to my sovereign on the victory of the most High has given your Majesty. All that is left to do is to take the coward Aurangzeb before he can escape. Why do you delay this ? Let us advance with more speed; and to do this let your Majesty descend from your elephant and mount on horse back, and in a single charge we can seize our prey"[39].

Although Bernier has mentioned the incident, he has expressed his doubt about Allawardī Khān's treachery. He states "one of his[40] chief captains, Allawardī Khān, who some say, had been gained, useth the same artifice that Salil-ul-la Khān had employed towards Dārā though there are some who believed that there was no malice in the case and that it was a mere piece of flattery"[41]. Sleeman, Stewart and Dow only mention the incident but they are silent about treachery[42]. Neither Bernier nor Manucci were eye witnesses to the incident

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39. Storia. I. 329-30; Bowrey, 138; Riyāz. 220. Faiyaz Bakhash. 97.

40. Shujā's Chief.

41. Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 64; HLR. 77.

42. W. Sleeman "Rambles and recollections". 413; C. Steward "History of Bengal", 296; Dow "History of India", III. P. 286.

and they appear to have based their accounts on gossip and both might be wrong because the Persian sources (written by those who were present in the battle field) do not at all mention the treachery of Allawardī Khān. Masūm, who was present in the battle field, states that it was Isfandyār Mamuri who advised Shujā to descend from the elephant[43]. Secondly, when Shujā left the battle field, Allawardī Khān accompanied him and he was with the prince up to Rājmahal[44]. So the story of Allawardī's treachery can safely be discarded as merely gossip or a fabrication.

Route of Shujā's Army : His Retreat :

It is a fact that Shujā, without considering the consequences, got down from the elephant to ride on a horse and that was the greatest blunder that he committed. This made the confusion worse confounded on the side of Shujā, and this was the end of his fight and the beginning of his fall. His soldiers, who had been so long heroically fighting, became terror-stricken when they found the empty howda of their master's elephant. They at once considered their master to be dead or imprisoned by the enemy and the battle as lost. Immediately the army turned into a rabble and the rabble were flying in all directions in utter panic. The dismounted Shujā made desperate efforts to stop the flight but he failed to stop it and stood in the field as a helpless and hapless spectator with the vision of his impending doom clearly before his eyes. Only a few of his captains, who were gallantly facing the enemy, found their master standing dumb founded and the soldiers behind them flying in confusion. At this juncture, the enemy surged

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43. TS. 103b.

44. TS. 114b; ZA. 94.

forward in thousands and Shujā and his loyal generals also had no alternative but to fly hurriedly before being swamped. Only Sayyid Ālam was able to break through the right of the enemy[45]. This Shujā seeing that he had lost the day and there was no hope of recovery, was forced to join the fugitives. He left the battle field with his sons and generals and a small remnant of his regiment[46]. They all fled towards Bengal in such a haste that they had "neither the foot in the saddle nor courage in heart"[47], and left behind all their belongings. Upon appraisal of the situation, Aurangzeb ordered his eldest son Muhammed Sultān, his veteran general Mīr Jumla, and other veterans to pursue the fugitive prince[48]. The imperialists now plundered the entire camp and captured all the belongings of Shujā. About 114 big and small cannon, eleven celebrated elephants of Bengal, a portion of the treasure and jewels of Shujā coming to the possession of Aurangzeb[49].

Reviewing the battle, it is evident that Shujā was a good general. Aurangzeb won the battle not so much by his military genius as by the steadiness of his nerves. Shujā's plan of the battle was really admirable. In spite of

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45. TS. 104b; Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 64; Storia. I. 331; HLR. 77; Aurang. II. 493; Catrau. 262.

46. TS. 105a; AN. 264; Ādāb. 240b; MA. 214b; FA. 41a; ZA. 79; KT. 535; TSC. 165; E & D. VII. 236; Storia. I. 331; EFIX. 279; Catrau. 262; Aurang. II. 494.

47. Poem. 133.

48. Ibid. 134-35; TS. 112a; AN. 265; MA. 214b; FA. 41a; Ādāb. 207a; ZA. 90; KT. 536; Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 66; EFI. X. 273; AS. III. 325.

49. Ādāb. 241a; ZA. 79; Aurang. II. 459; but according to KK. 115 elephants and much treasures and jewels captured by the enemy. E & D. VII. 236.

his superiority in strategy, he lost the battle because of numerical inferiority and his lack of promptness and alertness. His general, Sayyid Ālam, got no support from behind when he attacked the centre of the enemy and, as a result, he had to retreat. Had he utilised the opening made by his two elephants in the centre and fallen on the right wing of the enemy, he might have annihilated both the wings of Aurangzeb. But neither Sayyid Ālam was so foresighted, nor Shujā was swift enough to utilise that opportunity by supplying necessary support from the centre or the rear to Sayyid Ālam[50].

Another reason for Shujā's defeat as stated in the English factory correspondence was his deficiency in "Certain kinds of fire works made of bamboos, which were deadlier than grenades"[51]. To sum up, Shujā lost the war due to his slowness in taking action, Sayyid Ālam's want of steadiness and foresight to utilise the panic among the enemy during the attack of his own elephants, want of support to Sayyid Ālam from behind and the numerical superiority of the enemy. Lastly, Shujā's indiscreet act of dismounting at a critical stage of the battle gave the finishing stroke. Therefore, in spite of his superior military genius Shujā lost the battle, with the inevitable ruin of his career and life. In this battle he lost about 12,000 soldiers[52], he lost all his power and prestige and was turned into a hapless and helpless fugitive, chased incessantly by his implacable foe till he was driven out of Bengal to rest his tired limbs in a foreign and inhospitable land.

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50. TS. 103a; ZA. 78.

51. Balasore letter dated December 15, 1659 (EFIX. 279); ZA. 79, EFI mentioned hand grenades dashing like wind. EFIX. 279.

52. EFIX. 279; but according to Ādāb, Shujā lost about 4 to 5,000 soldiers. Adāb. 207a.

CHAPTER VIII.

RETREAT OF PRINCE SHUJĀ FROM KHAJWA TO DĀCCA

A. Prince Shujā's Retreat from Khajwa to Patna :

Prince Shujā was totally routed by Aurangzeb on January 5, 1659, at the battle field of Khajwa. He lost most of his efficient generals, numerous soldiers and had to fly away leaving behind almost all his treasures. He was gravely disappointed at the result of the war and desperately hastened towards Bengal[1]. After madly riding 30 miles at a stretch from the battle field, the prince first halted to give rest to his exhausted body and drooping spirits. Again, after four days of continuous flight, he crossed the Ganga and encamped at Jhusi, opposite to Allahābād. But the commander of Allahābād, who was a partisan of Dārā Shukoh, shut the gate against Shujā and sent message to the imperialists to hasten and take charge of it[2].

On reaching Bahādurpūr[3] Shujā decided to stop and to stand against the enemies who were hotly pursuing him. He stopped there for some time, repaired the old forts and dug trenches round his camp. To strengthen his position, seven large guns were brought from Chunar and were placed on the ramparts. Moreover, his flotilla were moored at hand so that in time of danger he could safely retreat. Muhammad Sultān, the Commander of the imperial army crossed the

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1. Poem. 132.

2. AN. 285; TS. 105b; Aurang. II. 566; ZA. 91.

3. 5 miles east of Benāres.

Ganga near Allahābād and marched towards Shujā's camp. On receipt of this news as well as of the march of Fidāī Khān at the head of a strong enemy army, Shujā fled precipitately towards Patna. Instead of entering the city, he encamped at Jafar Khān's garden on February 10, 1659, in the suburbs of Patna[4].

Shujā's retreat from Patna to Monghyr : At Patna Shujā wasted a few valuable days in marrying his son Zain-ul-Ābidīn to the daughter of an old and retired officer named Zulfiqār Khān Qaramanlu; and this was done in the vain hope of strengthening his waning fortune. Meanwhile, Mīr Jumla arrived within twenty miles west of Patna. Frightened at this news Shujā hurriedly marched towards Monghyr which he reached on February 19. The enemy captured Patna on February 22, eight days after the prince had deserted the city, and were joined by Fidāī Khān[5].

At Monghyr Shujā resisted the enemy for a few days from February 19 to March 6. The position of the city of Monghyr greatly helped Shujā to offer resistance to the enemy. The town stands on a 2.1/2 miles wide, narrow plain and the river the Ganga flows on the western side while the eastern side is defended by the Kharagpur hills. There was only one convenient road from Patna to Monghyr which ran through this plain. If this vital road could be blocked the invader would have no other alternative but to make a long detour through the desolate hills infested with wild animals and the jungles of the Santhal Parganas and Birbhum, far away from the Ganga and the populous cities, and could

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4. AN. 493; ZA. 91-92; Poem. 140; Aurang. II.567.

5. AN. 493; ZA. 91-92; Aurang. II. 567; EFIX. 280.

reach the river only in the neighbourhood of Murshidābād[6].

To defend the city of Monghyr from inroads, long ago the Afghān rulers of Bengal had raised a wall with a moat in front of the city, from the hill to the river. In 1658 Shujā, in order to resist Sulaimān Shukoh, had repaired the defences, raised bastions at every 30 yards along the wall and filled the ditch with water by connecting it with the river. Now big guns were unloaded from boats and mounted on the walls, soldiers were posted in the trenches and Rājā Bahroz, the Zamīndār of Kharagpur, was ordered to guard the southern hills so that the enemy might not come through the difficult road which ran through it to Rājmahal. Moreover, Shujā posted pickets of European army at some strategic points near Monghyr[7]. The 'qarawals'[8] informed Muhammad Sultān that the Shujāites had prepared a murchal (entrenchment) on the way, and placed cannon from the hills of Monghyr to the bank of the Ganga and that 'shutrnals', 'hathnals', 'bandugs' and 'bans' were so numerous that they could not be counted. At every corner two or three 'firingies' were posted for war. The top-Khana (park of artillery) was such that nobody had seen or heard of[9].

Retreat of Shujā from Monghyr to Garhi : On the way to Monghyr at Kajra (near Kiul) Muhammad Sultān (early in March) was informed that the Shujāites had blocked the only road from Patna to Monghyr. Now, Mīr Jumla, without loss of time, bought over Rājā Bahroz and under the latter's guidance

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6. AN. 493; ZA. 91-92; Aurang. II. 567-68; Poem. 143-44.

7. AN. 493; Aurang. II. 568.

8. Skirmishers.

9. Poem. 142.

marched through the hills and jungles of Kharagpur and Birbhum and making a detour round Monghyr threatened Shujā's rear[10]. Betrayed by Rājā Bahroz and out-flanked by his enemies, Shujā was forced to leave Monghyr on March 6. He halted beyond Teliagarhi, at Rangamati as mentioned in the Ālamgīrnāma[11]. Here Shujā halted for fifteen days from March 10 to March 24, and blocked the roads which ran through the plain by erecting a wall from the river to the southern hill. He miscalculated that the enemy were tired of crossing the hills and jungles and would now certainly follow him through his own track on the southern bank of the Ganga. So he wanted to detain the enemy before the wall. The river Ganga protected his right while the Rājmahal hill, stretching from the Ganga to Birbhum, blocked the left. He also sent one of his generals, named Isfandyār Mamuri, to Khwāja Kamal Afghān, the Zamīndār of Birbhum and Chotanagpur, in order to prevent the enemy from attacking on his left flank by making a detour through the hills[12]. He then placed cannons at different places on the walls and also stationed a flotilla on the Ganga[13].

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10. AN. 494-95; ZA. 92; TS. 113b; Poem. 143-45; Aurang. II. 569.

11. According to Zafarnama-i-Ālamgīrī (P. 92) and Aurangnama (P. 147), Shujā halted at Garhi (Teliagarhi). But Ālamgīrnāma mentions (P. 495) as Rangamati (Lalmati), 33 Kos from Monghyr and 15 Kos from Rājmahal. Jadunāth Sarkār emphatically states that the place is undoubtedly Lalmati, 1/2 mile south of the Sahibganj Station on the E.I. Loop Line and midway between Teliagarhi and Sakrigali. Date of Shujā's evacuation of Monghyr, EFI. X. 281.

12. AN. 496; Storia. I. 334; HLR. 81; Aurang. II. 570; DGM. 35; IHQ. 1940. P. 115.

13. Poem. 147.

Shujā's retreat from Garhi to Rājmahal : This time also Shujā's plan of defence was upset due to the treachery of Khwāja Kamal Afghān. The gold of Mīr Jumla won over the Zamīndār who guided the imperialists through his land. The enemy, during their twelve days toil-some march through the hills south-east of Monghyr District, were guided as well as provided with rations and fodder by Kamal Afghān and on March 28, they passed through Suri, the chief town of Birbhum[14]. But on the way to Akbarnagar (Rājmahal), at Pialapur, the enemy received a set-back when a false rumour of Dārā's victory at Ajmēr and of Aurangzeb's flight to the Deccan reached them and most of the Rājpūt soldiers and two Muhammadan generals deserted Mīr Jumla. Mīr Jumla did not waste his valuable time in trying to dissuade the deserters or to punish them. He had still about 25,000 soldiers, double the strength of Shujā, and with these he, without wasting his time, pushed on swiftly and steadily so that he could cut off Shujā's retreat to Dācca[15].

Shujā deserted Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) : The treachery of the Zamīndār of Birbhum and the advance of the enemy through his lands upset Shujā and he at once evacuated Rangamati and hastened to Akbarnagar (Rājmahal) where he reached about March 27. Meanwhile, the enemy turned to the north-east in order to cut off Shujā's passage to Dācca through Ganga near Murshidābād and reached Belghata[16], 30 miles from Shujā's position.

The encampment of the enemy on the bank of the Ganga under the command of Mīr Jumla forced Shujā to call a Council of War to consider the new development

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14. Ibid. 148-51; AN. 497; ZA. 92; Aurang. II. 571; TS. 113b; EFIX. 282; Ball. I. 272-73.

15. Poem. 151-53; AN. 498; ZA. 93; Aurang. II. 571-73; TS. 115b-116a.

16. Belghata is about two miles west of Jangipur. Rennel Sh. 2.

as the western bank of the Ganga was no longer safe. Advised by his Amirs, led by Mirzā Jān Beg, Shujā decided to remove at once his family and Head-quarters to Tanda (4 miles west of the fort of Gaur) and to prolong the war with the help of his powerful flotilla by avoiding any conflict on land. With that object in view he planned to cross the Ganga at Dogachi[17], 13 miles south of Rājmahal[18].

Allawardī Khān's plot : he was put to death by Shujā : But everything did not happen normally according to his plan. The arrival of the imperial army at Belghata, 30 miles from his position, un-nerved Shujā's shaky followers. They were now faced with the gravest peril of their life and they had two alternatives before them : either to join the enemy in order to avoid further discomfiture and miseries or to remain loyal to their master and to be ready to "suffer the slings and arrows of outragous fortune". In that very critical situation many of Shujā's generals abandoned their fidelity towards their master and conspired to desert him, and Allawardī Khān was the leader of malcontents. He joined Shujā while the prince marched for the first time against the imperial army and since then he was all along with his master. Shujā, being satisfied with his sincerity, promoted him to be his chief adviser, used to call him 'Bhai' (My noble brother) and very recently promoted and designated him 'Amīr-ul-Umarā' or 'Premier Noble'[19]. In spite of so much favour and confidence showed to him, Allawardī Khān did not

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17. For Dogachi, see Indian Atlas. Sh. 112; there is another Dogachi about 2 miles south of Dunapur, but that does not meant here.

18. AN. 498-99; ZA. 94; TS. 116a; Poem. 153; Aurang. II. 573; EFI. X. 281; Bernier (Const.). II. 81.

19. AN. 421, 422, 498-99; TS. 114a-b; Aurang. II. 574.

hesitate to desert his master in the critical moment of his life. But the most unfortunate thing is that the general did not only himself leave his master; he entered into a conspiracy with some other generals and jointly decided to slip to the enemy camp, while Shujā was planning to cross the river[20].

Shujā was quite in the dark about the conspiracy of Allawardī Khān. So he, according to his plan, went to the ferry of Dogachi on April 1, 1659; but siddenly a storm rose and prevented his embarkation that night. Shujā was forced to return to his camp which was five miles away from the river bank. Allawardī Khān and his fellow conspirators did not foresee such a contingency. Soon the plot became known to Shujā and he took terrible reprisal. Two officers were left at Rājmahal to superintend and arrange the quick transport of the men and stores that were to follow him. Next morning (April 2) Shujā, burning with resentment and anger galloped back to Rājmahal, a distance of ten miles[21] and got down in his garden in the suburb. The prince was at that age full of energy and, in that angry mood, began to shout at his officers. He despatched his officers, one after another to bring Allawardī. Allawardī, out of fear, posted his soldiers to guard his house against any attack. Soon Shujā's officers with their soldiers gathered before the house and were bent upon entering forcibly into the house to take Allawardī by force. The unexpected turn of events overwhelmed Allawardī and his partisans. So when Siraj-ud-din Muhammad Zabri came "to fetch the traitor", the latter surrendered along with some of his followers, without giving any fight.

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20. AN. 500; TS. 114a; Aurang. II. 574.

21. TS. 114b; Aurang. II. 575; but according to Faiz Bakhsh Dogachi was 40 miles away from Rājmahal which is certainly wrong. Faiz Bakhsh "History of Faizābād". I. 116.

Allawardī Khān and his younger son Saifullah Khān were carried on an elephant before Shujā outside the city. They were at once put in chains and were carried to the city on the elephant along with Shujā. At the palace gate the two were publicly beheaded. Two other mansabdars who were involved in the plot, were similarly dealt with[22].

Prince Shujā passed another three days at Rājmahal and on April 4, crossed the river Ganga at Dogachi and arrived at Firozpur with his family. Then he collected his entire flotilla at Baqarpur on the opposite bank of the river and posted them to guard his front. When Muhammad Sultān and Mīr Jumla heard of Shujā's evacuation of Rājmahal, they immediately hastened to occupy the city. A batch of enemy under Zulfiqār Khān entered the deserted city on April 13, and occupied it. Nearly 4,000 of Shujā's soldiers having failed to cross the river quickly returned to Rājmahal. They were induced by Zulfiqār Khān to join the enemy. Thus the entire country on the western bank of the Ganga from Rājmahal to Hugli was lost to Shujā for ever[23], and his position was becoming more and more precarious and pitiable.

Shujā was weak on land, but was master of the Ganga, because the entire flotilla was under his control. He sank all kinds of boats to prevent the enemy from crossing the river. He patiently waited for the rainy season when the river would be in floods and he would be able to improve his fading fortune with his flotilla. On the other hand, Muhammad Sultān and Mīr Jumla were eager to

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22. TS. 114b; Aurang. II. 574-76; AN. 500-01; MA. 227a; MU. I. 671; M. Ālam. 15.

23. TS. 116a-b; Aurang. II. 576-77; AN. 501; ZA. 95; Bernier (Const.). II. 81-82; EFI. X. 281-83.

cross the river before the advent of the monsoon and so they decided to march towards Suti in order to cross the river where it was fordable during dry season. Thus he would cut off Shujā's retreat towards Dācca[24].

B. The War on the Ganga :

Relative strength of the rival forces : As already stated, Prince Shujā was at this stage hopelessly inferior in land forces. When he retreated from the battle field of Khajwa he had only about 10,000 men. Out of these some deserted him and joined the enemy, while he crossed the Ganga near Dogachi[25]. So on land he could not hope to stand even an hour before the huge mobile army of the enemy. But he was in a better position than the enemy in some other respects. He was in possession of a strong park of artillery admirably handled by European and half caste gunners of Hugli, Tamlūk and Noakhali. Thousands of Portuguese being ousted by the Dutch from Ceylon and Jafuapatam, took refuge in Bengal under Shujā. Being attracted by Shujā's offer of high salary, generous promise of future prospects and freedom to establish Churches, they enlisted in the Bengal army. On the other hand, the imperialists were in an inferior position because of their light artillery. Moreover, Shujā was in possession of some big cannon which particularly suited the needs of his present condition, for with those he could easily paralyse attempts of his enemy to get closer to him.

Secondly, Bengal being a land of rivers, the subedars of Bengal were granted extensive jāgīrs to maintain a strong flotilla to patrol the rivers,

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24. EFI. X. 283.

25. ZA. 95; TS. 116b, 126a.

to carry the officers and troops from one place to another and to protect lower Bengal from the depredations of the pirates[26]. As a Subedār of Bengal, Shujā was the master of a strong flotilla. Moreover, he either captured or sunk or burnt all the private boats lest they should fall into the hands of the enemy. On the other hand, the enemy had no flotilla either to fight on water or to cross the river. Mīr Jumla was in a helpless condition without a nawwarah. The Mughals were famous as cavaliers but proverbially bad in naval warfare. Shujā could mount his big guns on boats and employ this extremely mobile force anywhere he liked, from Rājmahal to Suti along the entire Mughal line. But due to his deficiency in land forces, he could not take any offensive against the army. He was just like an alligator, while his opponent a tiger[27], but the alligator was getting weary and exhausted.

Shujā in an advantageous position in the new theatre of war : With the arrival of Shujā on the eastern bank of the Ganga and the capture of Rājmahal by the enemy the war entered upon a new phase. So long the war was mainly on land and Shujā, due to his inferiority in land forces, fought a defensive war and retreated towards his capital, while the imperialists, because of their superiority in numbers and strength, had the upper hand. Now the rival forces were separated from each other by the Ganga and Shujā with the help of his flotilla was controlling the river. The progress of the enemy was impeded by the river and they could not advance even a step without the nawwarah. But all the private boats had either been captured or sunk or burnt by the order of

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26. About Bengal flotilla - JASB. June 1906 and June 1907.

27. TS. 116a-117b; ZA. 95; Aurang. II. 579-80; EFI. X. 282-84; Balasore letter of April 30, May 18, and December 15, 1659.

Shujā. So Mīr Jumla's progress was totally paralysed for want of flotilla. Shujā was now in an advantageous position and by mounting his big guns on the boats he could launch an offensive war anywhere he liked from Suti[28] to Rājmahal with his base at Tanda. He wanted to try his utmost to recover his lost position by taking refuge behind the river in spite of his numerical inferiority. Mīr Jumla was in a helpless and tight position for want of nawwarah. Shujā, during the months of summer, prevented the enemy from crossing the river and taking advantage of enemy's immobility for want of a fleet, he decided to replenish his shattered power[29]. The daring prince thereafter during the rainy season started an offensive war in the course of which he succeeded in re-capturing Rājmahal, to which we shall come later.

From the occupation of Rājmahal by the enemy on April 13, 1659, to Shujā's retreat to Dācca on April 12, 1660, was the history of alternate successes and failures of the prince. In the first stage, Shujā played a defensive game on the Ganga. His fortune first improved when Muhammad Sultān, the eldest son of Aurangzeb sent against him, came over to his (Shujā's) camp on June 8, 1659, deserting the imperial side (the details of which will be narrated at a later place in this chapter). Shujā in the course of his new offensive re-captured Rājmahal. But soon fortune deserted him and he entered into the final stage of the drama when he was hotly chased by the enemy both on land and water till he was forced to retreat to Dācca with the entire province slipping into the hands of the enemy.

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28. Suti is 28 miles south of Rājmahal.

29. TS. 116a-17a; Aurang. II. 580.

First reverse of Shujā at the hands of Mīr Jumla near Dogachi : Shujā was not free from danger for a moment in spite of his advantageous position. Mīr Jumla, by persistent search, collected a few boats, within fifteen days, from far and near. Then he, accompanied by Muhammad Sultān, started for Dogachi on April 14. At Baqarpur, on the opposite bank of Dogachi, the Shujāite general, Sayyid Qulī Khān, had entrenched himself with his artillery; while Shujā himself was in the rear and his flotilla was ready in front of them. There was an island in the mid-stream between the two armies and Mīr Jumla planned to capture this island at night, and to erect 'damdama' (raised battery) in order to help his army to cross the river under the cover of heavy firing on the Shujāites. Nearly 2,000 enemy personnel quickly crossed the river under different leaders and hastily set up an entrenchment with many cannon, followed by many rocket-men and matchlock-men.

In the morning Shujā heard that the enemy had captured the island and had occupied the position which his own army had deserted. He also heard that the enemy had set up an entrenchment manned by many distinguished generals. Shujā ordered his soldiers to board the boats and fight to the death. His soldiers were under the command of Fidāī Khān, an able and courageous general. The order of Shujā was carried out and war-boats of Shujā sent out. In every boat 3 to 4 firingies were posted. When they neared the entrenchment, the enemy fired upon them with cannon and rockets. Shujā ordered his men to exchange fire and the commanders started firing, the smoke of which darkened the space above the water. At the rapid advance of Shujā's army, the enemy launched their attack with matchlocks, cannon and rockets. Many of the Shujāites were slain, but they soon reached near the island. Fidāī Khān at once

came out of his boat, planted a flag on the ground and stood at bay. Now the enemy attacked with renewed vigour slaying lots of them. Mīr Jumla, who was watching the scene from a distance, grew so much alarmed as to pray to God for success. For some time the decision seemed to hang in the balance. But eventually Fidāī Khān failed and many of his men were either drowned or wounded and many boats were sunk. Shujā consoled and encouraged his soldiers saying that he would try again the next day to re-capture the island. Next morning Shujā's men led another attack with cannon and arrows. The parties exchanged heavy gun fire. Both the sides sustained heavy losses, but Shujā failed to re-capture the island[30].

Prince Shujā faced Mīr Jumla's naval enterprise at Suti : Prince Shujā smarting under his previous reverses by the sudden attack of the enemy, now guarded his defences very carefully. His flotilla cruised up and down the river, exchanging fire with the enemy on the western bank and kept his army ready and powder-dry. It was not possible for Mīr Jumla to cross the river with half a dozen boats and to lead any surprise attack on Shujā while the latter was powerful and vigilant. So Mīr Jumla changed his plan of war and decided to distribute his entire army all along the western bank from Rājmahal to Suti. Accordingly, he posted Muhammad Murād Beg at Rājmahal in the extreme north and Muhammad Sultān accompanied by Zulfiqār Khān, and Islām Khān remained at Dogachi. He stationed Alīqulī Khān at Dunapur, 8 miles south of Dogachi, and he himself occupied Suti at the head of six or seven thousand troops.

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30. TS. 118a (boats collected by Mīr Jumla); Aurang. II. 582; AN. 501-03; Poem. 154-62.

Mīr Jumla selected Suti because he was informed by some local men that here the river was narrow and fordable. He stopped any boat or Shujāite from crossing over to Shujā by totally closing all passages and ferries. The day after taking up his position at Suti, Mīr Jumla relying on the words of the local people, attempted to cross the river, but failed due to the sudden rise of water in the Ganga about a fortnight earlier than usual. Apprehending repetition of such attempt in future, Shujā as a precautionary measure, posted Nurul Hasan at Suti against Mīr Jumla and Iafandyār Mamuri at Dunapur and ordered his eldest son Zain-ul-ābidīn to carry his family to Tanda as a measure of safety[31].

Now Mīr Jumla sent his officers even up to Hugli and Cossimbazar to collect boats and within ten to fifteen days was able to assemble about a hundred boats of various sorts. Shujā was aware of Mīr Jumla's preparation for a fresh attack; so he installed battery of eight big guns opposite Mīr Jumla and by frequent cannonading caused heavy damage to the imperial army and cattle on the river bank. One night the enemy led an attack with ten boats to capture Shujā's battery, but the attempt was detected in time and successfully repulsed. But the daring venture of the enemy on the next day was successful. At mid-day there was a strong wind and Shujā's army were off them guard. In that opportune moment, Mīr Jumla despatched 20 imperial troopers and a party of his own retainers to cross the river. They quickly crossed the river in a favourable wind, suddenly fell on the battery, damaged two large guns by driving

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31. New arrangements :- AN. 503-05; Aurang. II. 582-83; ZA. 95; Mīr Jumla at Suti; Poem. 162-65; ZA. 95; TS. 117b; EFIX. 283; Futile attempt of Mīr Jumla to cross the river; Poem. 165; AN. 504; ZA. 95; EFIX. 283.

nails into the port-holes and carried off the other six without any loss. Shujā was terror-stricken at such a surprise attack of the enemy and removed Nurul Hasan from his command, whose negligence was mainly responsible for this great gain to the enemy[32].

Shujā defeated Mīr Jumla on May 3, 1659 : Soon Mīr Jumla realised the fickleness of fortune. Encouraged by his two earlier successes, he planned a third attack on a large scale. The old experienced general, spurred on by success, lost his practical sense and underestimated the strength of Shujā. Shujā,daunted at the success of his enemy in the second attack, became more cautious. He at once removed the inefficient and careless commander, Nurul Hasan, and posted in his place Sayyid Ālam of Barha (Khān-i-Ālam), one of his devoted officers, at the head of about one thousand picked soldiers. Muhtasham Khān was also ordered to accompany Khān-i-Ālam. According to the order of Shujā, the Khāns posted few soldiers to guard the trenches and batteries on the river bank and concealed most of soldiers and elephants behind camouflaged ambuscades.

Sayyid Ālam repelled the naval attack of the enemy on the night of May 2, 1659. At dawn next day, nearly 2,000 imperialist mixed soldiers of Mughals, Sayyids, Afghāns and Rājpūts boarded 73 boats and led by Qasim Khān and Shahbaz Khān attempted to land on the opposite bank. Ihtamam Khān first reached the opposite bank and he with some imperial soldiers made an assault on Shujā's trenches, driving out his soldiers and planted the imperial flags there. Suddenly Sayyid Ālam sprang out of his ambuscade with all his men and

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32. Poem. 165-67; TS. 118a; ZA. 95; AN. 504-05; EFIX. 283-84; Aurang. II. 583-84.

elephants, completely encircled the small band of the enemy and swooped down upon them. The enemy gallantly defended themselves, though they were hopelessly outnumbered. Some of the boats hastened to land their men while others, who were at a distance, being terror-stricken at the sudden attack, rowed back hastily leaving behind six boats. The Shujāites, emboldened at their success jumped into the river leading two elephants with them. At this the enemy were greatly perplexed. Quickly advancing with elephants and drums, Sayyid Ālam attacked Qasim Khān and Shahbaz Khān with arrows and match-locks. No party could claim a decisive success. Sayyid Ālam ordered his men to attack with swords and himself advanced from his position. Zabardast Khān, though wounded, made a passage through the Shujāites. Nearly 200 men of Sayyid Ālam with a furious elephant (a famous fighter named Koka) fell on Ihtamam Khān. The brother and nephew of Zabardast Khān attempted to disembark and help Ihtamam Khān. Qasim Khān was killed in the thick of the battle. 'Koka' gored Shahbaz Khān with his tusk and sank two or three of his boats including the soldiers. Shahbaz Khān himself was also killed in the battle. After disposing of the boats, Sayyid Ālam fell upon Ihtamam Khān who was in a helpless situation. After a hard fight Ihtamam Khān fell along with many of his men, while the rest surrendered. The best of the imperial army were either drowned or slain and the wounded were made prisoners[33]. "The very peak of the imperial army thus perished miserably; 500 of them were taken prisoner, and some of these were afterward put to death by order of Shujā"[34]. Edmond Foster in a letter stated that nearly 1,000 of the

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33. Poem. 168-72; TS. 118a-119a; ZA. 95; AN. 506-09; EFIX. 284; Aurang. II. 584-86.

34. TS. 119a-b.

enemy soldiers were killed and that the jellars (jalia or jalba) or large boats of Shujā helped him to win the war against the small boats of the enemy[35]. According to the Ālamgīrnāma Shujā was in an advantageous position with many of his fast-moving boats while Mīr Jumla had only a few big boats (6 boats carrying 1,000 soldiers). It is a fact that the size, shape and swiftness of Shujā's flotilla greatly contributed to his success. Moreover, his army had a good number of Feringies and Bengalees, specially of lower Bengal, who were expert in naval warfare; but the forces of Mīr Jumla did not possess any naval strength. "The deep had unknown terrors for them, and even a voyage down a river was a penance to be gone through with set teeth and breathless expectation of its ends, when they would tread on solid land again"[36]. Prince Shujā praised his generals and hoped that he would be able to defeat and imprison Mīr Jumla. Shujā was a kind and generous prince and his noble qualities were exhibited during his behaviour towards the captives to each of whom he presented 200 dirhams. The captives in turn prayed for long the life of the prince[37].

Prince Shujā faced fresh difficulties on the arrival of Dāūd Khān : Shujā was not allowed to live in peace even for a while after this success over Mīr Jumla on May 3, 1659. After his defeat, Mīr Jumla at once attempted to establish good relations with the Dutch and English factors to counterpoise Portuguese support to Shujā. He also planned to attack Shujā from three sides, north, east

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35. Foster's letter from Kashimbazar dated May 8, 1659. EFIX. 284.

36. Aurang. II. 579.

37. Poem. 171-72.

and west. For the success of his plan, he had to depend greatly on Dāūd Khān, the Governor of Bihār. So Mīr Jumla wrote a long letter stating his discomfiture at Suti on May 3, and urged Dāūd Khān to recruit soldiers, collect boats and to march towards Bengal as quickly as possible. He also advised Dāūd Khān to instruct the Rozbihani forces to cross the river Kosi under the command of Rashīd and Chīragh[38]. Accordingly, Dāūd started from Patna on May 13, at the head of 1,500 cavalry and 2,000 infantry[39].

In three weeks time Rashīd Khān and Chīragh Bahādur arrived at Bhāgālpūr and encamped on the river bank. After one day more soldiers arrived from Dāūd Khān carried in 90 boats. They were instructed by Dāūd to cross the river Ganga at once (in the first week of June 1659). Shujā's general Itībār Khān, was ready very near with numerous Kusas[40]. At once he appeared with a large flotilla and attacked the enemy with cannon and rockets. There were rapid exchanges of arrows, match-locks, cannon and rockets from both sides and as a result many Kusas were drowned. The first day the fighting continued till evening and when it stopped it was found that 140 soldiers were slain on both sides. That night Dāūd Khān sent 10 boats with cannon and rockets and 10 soldiers

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38. Ibid. 172-74; AN. 513; According to EFI, Dāūd Khān was instructed by Aurangzeb "to cross the river at Patna and march along the northern bank in order to assail Shujā's right wing". EFIX. 285.

39. Poem. 179; ZA. 75; Pickering in his letter from Patna dated May 16, stated that Dāūd started at the head of 5,000 horse and Chamberlain in his letter dated May 17, gives the date of Dāūd's departure as May 17. EFIX. 285.

40. According to EFI Itībār Khān had about 30 galliers. EFIX. 285.

in each boat armed with match-locks to anchor on the other side of the river. Next morning when Itibār Khān's flotilla charged the enemy, Dāūd Khān discharged cannon and rockets from his fleet so vigorously that Itibār Khān, out of fear, left the battle field while the enemy soldiers crossed the river[41].

After Muhammad Sultān's arrival in the camp of Prince Shujā on the night of June 8, Rashīd Khān went to the camp of Dāūd on June 10. Dāūd ordered Rashīd to set up an entrenchment on the bank of the Ganga. Next day at dawn Dāūd appeared with some boats. Soon Shujā's soldiers appeared with many ghurabs and Kusas (fast boats) and discharged cannon and rockets on the enemy. The enemy replied with arrows and match-locks. Suddenly the Shujāites, out of fear, gave up the battle, leaving behind many slain. They however succeeded in killing two gallant imperial soldiers of Dāūd. The next morning Itibār Khān appeared once more and attacked the enemy from the bank of the river with cannon, rockets and match-locks. But being highly pressed by the enemy attack, he left the battle with his army and did not return. But some Kusas suddenly appeared equipped with match-locks on the side of Shujā and embarrassed Dāūd's men[42].

From here Itibār went to Bhāgālpūr, where the imperial faujdār had been waiting with 10 troopers by the order of Mīr Jumla. Itibār Khān easily defeated and captured the faujdār along with two others, sounded the drums of victory and started back for Bangash[43]. Before he started for his camp, Itibār posted a

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41. Poem. 179-82.

42. Ibid. 197-99.

43. Near Bhāgālpūr.

gallant warrior in the city to protect it from plunder. On receipt of this news, Mīr Jumla despatched at once the nephew of Alī Qulī Khān at the head of 100 soldiers, to avenge the defeat. The enemy reached there in the morning and offered battle. The Shujāites attacked the enemy with cannon and rockets but were repulsed and were forced to retreat towards the Ganga. Many of them were either slain or captured and all their war materials fell into the hands of the enemy[44].

Flight of Muhammad Sultān to Shujā : For the time being the pendulum gradually oscillated from Mīr Jumla towards prince Shujā after the latter's success over the enemy on May 3, 1659. To the surprise of both, Mīr Jumla and Shujā, Muhammad Sultān left the imperial camp in the night of June 8, 1659, and crossed over to his uncle, against whom he had been sent. There were various reasons for the prince leaving his father's side.

Aurangzeb was the most suspicious of the Mughal Emperors and did not trust even his nearest relatives. He not only failed to appreciate his eldest son's courage and valour but was also suspicious of him because of those very qualities. After the battle of Khajwa, Muhammad Sultān was nominally put in the command of the army which was to pursue Shujā, while the real power was entrusted to Mīr Jumla. The prince could do nothing without the Mīr's advice and concurrence. It hurt the feelings of the young prince to find himself supreme commander in name only, but actually subordinate to Mīr Jumla. Not only this, the entire family of the prince was taken by Aurangzeb to Agra as a security for his son's good behaviour. Secondly, after the capture of Agra, Aurangzeb

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44. Poem. 199-201.

appointed Muhammad Sultān ~~as~~ in charge of the city including the palace where Shāhjahān was imprisoned and himself pursued Dārā towards Lahore. It was at this time that Shāhjahān offered the young prince the crown on condition of the old man's release. Though the prince did not accept the offer for fear of his father, he could not forget it and the ambition day by day engulfed his mind. The episode of the offer of the crown to Muhammad Sultān did not possibly go unheard by Aurangzeb. Therefore, Muhammad was a suspect in the eyes of his father; and this knowledge possibly led the young prince to think that his chance to become the Emperor of Hindūstan might not come even after the death of his father. So he preferred to join his uncle in expectation of better luck. It will also be remembered that when Shujā and Aurangzeb were returning to their respective provinces from Kabul they had met near Agra and sowed the seeds of conspiracy against their common enemy Dārā and to cement their bonds they settled the marriage of Muhammad Sultān with Shujā's daughter, Gulrukh Bānū, which unfortunately did not materialise due to various reasons. The young prince could not forget it and was yet nursing that memory.

At Rājmahal when Muhammad Sultān's mind was unhappy and seething with discontent, he was assured by the messengers of Shujā that if he went over to his uncle, the latter would give his daughter to him in marriage and would also place him on the throne of Delhi. There could not be anything more alluring to the young prince than this, especially at a time when his position was not at all happy and secure. Yet he was pondering over the offer and dared not accept it at once and was slack in his duty. Mīr Jumla did not remain an inactive and silent spectator. He was keeping watch over every movement of the prince, scented the matter and promptly reported the developments to the Emperor. The

anxious Emperor at once instructed his veteran general Mīr Jumla in clear language that if he considered Muhammad Sultān's stay undesirable than the general should send the prince at once to the imperial capital[45]. The message was intercepted by the patrols of Muhammad Sultān and handed over to the prince. From the purport of the message the prince came to know that he was ordered by his father to be arrested and sent as a prisoner to the capital. In such a critical position he had no other alternative but to seek asylum in the camp of his uncle. So on the night of June 8, 1659, he crossed the flowing river with Amīr Qulī and Kashem Alī Mīr Tuzuk. When the news reached Shujā, he could not believe it and, to be sure, he at once sent one of his servants who knew Muhammad Sultān. Being confirmed from the servant's report, he was very much pleased and at once sent Buland Ākhtar and Mirzā Jān Beg to receive Muhammad Sultān[46]. Here Khāfī Khān has exaggerated the events. He has done injustice to Shujā by asserting that Shujā perceiving the strained relations between Muhammad Sultān and Mīr Jumla, "conceived the idea of winning the prince over to his side by means of tricks and treachery. He sent to him message, letters and presents of a type which could act as a trap and means of winning over inexperienced youths and thus succeeded in shaking the prince's loyalty to his father. He strengthened the thread of his deceptive policy to such an extent that the prince consented to accept the hands of his daughter who had been engaged to him earlier. By this and other deceitful messages he completely

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45. Ball. I. 361; HLR. 83.

46. AN. 509-12; 406-07; TS. 120b-22a, 124a; ZA. 96-97; Poem. 183-94; AS. III. 328; Ball. I. 273-74; Bernier (Const.). 82-83; Storia. I. 336; MU. III. 540-41; MA. 228a; MJ. 482b; FA. 46b; EFIX. 288-89; Catrau. 263; MA. 15; HLR. 82-83; Aurang. II. 586-88; JPHS. XIII. Pt. II. 184-85; SAR. 45.

shattered the firmness and loyalty of the prince"[47]. From the facts stated previously, one can safely conclude that Khāfī Khān's version is highly exaggerated and unfair to Shujā.

Shujā expected that with the arrival of Muhammad Sultān in his camp, many of the imperial soldiers attached to the prince, would follow him; but to his disappointment, not a single imperial soldier deserted. Moreover, some of his soldiers, who attempted to carry away the provisions, stores and men left by Muhammad Sultān, were repulsed by the enemy[48]. However, Shujā cordially welcomed Muhammad Sultān, took him in his service, a Khilat was given to him and he was also honoured with gifts of elephants, horses and costly jewels. Later on, Shujā gave his daughter in marriage to the prince. By this defection of Muhammad, Shujā felt greatly relieved at this critical juncture of his career[49].

Revolt of Rahmān Yār, the Officer-in-Charge of Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca) : When Shujā was busy with the reception of Muhammad Sultān and the rainy season was about to end, he was informed that Rahman Yār alias Rashīd Khān when he had appointed as the Officer-in-Charge of Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca), had revolted and joined Mīr Jumla. He was perturbed at this news and at once ordered his son Zain-ul-ābidin and an officer named Khwāja Khusru to proceed towards Jahāngīrnagar

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47. E & D. VII. 249; JPHS. XIII. Pt. II. 184.

48. According to Āqil Khān the Shujāites were repulsed after the restoration of order in the imperial camp. ZA. 96; Aurang. II. 588.

49. TS. 122a-24a; ZA. 96; Aurang. II. 588.

for investigation and necessary action. Not content with this, Shujā again despatched Sayyid Ālam to Jahāngīrnagar with the instruction to put Rashīd Khān to death by any means so that the revolt might not spread any more. The order was carried out by Sayyid Ālam[50].

C. The Theatre of War Moves to the West of the Ganga :

Shujā in a better position at the arrival of Muhammad Sultān : The arrival of Muhammad Sultān at the camp of Shujā changed the course of the war. So long Shujā was on the defensive, but henceforth he assumed the offensive against the enemy. The arrival of Muhammad Sultān had a two-fold effect; on the one hand, although the numerical strength of the enemy was not affected, it damped the spirit of the imperial army and suspended its activity[51]. Secondly, his arrival rejuvenated Shujā and his soldiers and hence with renewed vigour they started an offensive war against the imperialists. Moreover, when Shujā's fortune was constantly waning, he got a man at his disposal, who had successfully led many battles and was conversant with every move of the enemy, to assist him. Meanwhile the heavy rain and floods isolated the two imperial camps by innundating the sixty miles long road between them. Shujā, taking this advantage, determined to cut off all kinds of communications between the two camps and supply of provisions either by land or by water.

Shujā first wanted to make a naval attack on Mīr Jumla who was staying at Makhsudābād (Murshidābād) but in the next moment he changed his mind and planned first to recapture Rājmahal. It was not possible to make direct attack

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50. AN. 514-15.

51. Aurang. II. 589.

on the up-land camp of Mīr Jumla with his flotilla. But it was an opportune moment to launch an attack on Rājmahal because the town was isolated by floods and it was feasible neither for Mīr Jumla nor for Dāūd Khān to send any aid to Zulfiqār Khān who was in charge of the city. Secondly, Shujā would be able to make direct hit on the city with his flotilla and the recovery of Rājmahal would revive his prestige[52].

Shujā re-captured water-logged Rājmahal : Shujā decided to create an artificial famine by blocking supplies to the city and then to deliver an onslaught on the starving enemy soldiers and compell them to surrender. The environs of Rājmahal city had practically been converted into a marshy lake by the rains, leaving only the hill approach on the north-west. Even some portions of the city were innundated due to the rains and enabled the boats plying.

To starve the imperialists in the city, Shujā sealed all communication with the city. First, he kept strict vigilance on the waterways with the flotilla so that no provisions could be sent by Mīr Jumla from Makhsudābād to Rājmahal. Secondly, by winning over the Zamīndārs and threatening the traders and supporters of the enemy, he endeavoured to intercept all kinds of provisions and messages to the city. The subsidy of Shujā encouraged Harchand, the Rājā of the Majwa hills[53], to stop the coming of supplies from the west of Rājmahal and he even robbed those grain-merchants (Banjara) who attempted to send even a "bullock's load of grain" to Rājmahal. Edmund Foster in his letter to Davis on

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52. TS. 124b; AN. 512; EFIX. 289; Aurang. II. 588-89.

53. The Majwa (87° 37'E, 25° 2'N) hills stretch on the west of Rājmahal. Ind. Atlas. Sh. 112.

July 5, 1659, from Kashimbazar stated that Shujā had given a free hand to all the Zamīndārs of the country to rob any merchant or soldier of his money, goods or horses on condition that they would side with him and if there was any elephant among the booty, they would deposit to him. "The Zamīndārs have begun already to stop the way between us and you, so that no merchants dare to pass with goods for fear of being taken from him, nor a peon can pass with a letter"[54]. Mīr Jumla attempted in various ways to relieve the city but for want of sufficient boats he could do nothing and had to remain a helpless spectator. Shujā with his strong flotilla so successfully blockaded the city that no grain sent by Mīr Jumla reached the besieged imperialists of Rājmahal.

As a result of this blockade, there was serious famine in the city of Rājmahal. Masūm, who was present in the city at that time, has left a graphic description of this desperate situation thus : "The flame of famine rose in such a way as if smoke came out of earth and time" and "grain rose to the price of gold. Coarse, red, bad-smelling rice and dal sold at nine seers a rupee .... the difficulties of work and food have reached such a point that men, in search of rice, are cutting their chests, but do not get it..... In the agony of hunger, men took morsels of poison ..... price of one rice seed is greater than the gem used in earth and a dish of rice is more use to me (writer) than a pearl in hand". The butchers sold meat at a rupee per seer and "if the poor want to take meat, they should take their (own) meat. If the mouth has seen any meat, it is the flesh of his lips. ..... In the shops, dogs and cats are shrilling and cries of hungry men came out of mosques.

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54. E. Foster's letter - EFIX. 290.

The places of worship are deserted. The wineshops are without wine. There is no freshness in the garden of beauty, fire of love lost its warmth. Worship yields no fruit, sin results in nothing"[55]. Masūm was confirmed that this famine was much more catastrophic than the famine of Damascus as described by Shaikh Sadi. Āqil Khān and the Rozbihani followers of Mīr Jumla stated alike about the famine though their statements were not so grim and graphic. Shujā's strategy was successful. The sufferings of the imperialists by the ravages of flood and famine were aggravated by the loss of their horses and draught cattle. All these created dissension among the generals and disorder among the soldiers of Mīr Jumla and, as a result, they were forced to evacuate Rājmahal[56].

Shujā was patiently waiting for such an opportune moment and he did not let it pass. Shujā's admiral, Shaikh Abbas, captured the hilly tract named Patura[57] without any opposition from the enemy and made it his base for naval raids on the town. At this success Shujā was encouraged to cross over to the western bank of the river. Shujā posted Sirajuddin Jabri, Mīr Alauddin, the dīwān and Muhammad Zamān, Mīr-i-Samān at Tanda and himself arrived at Patura on August 18. On August 22, he suddenly attacked Rājmahal with his war boats. Zulfiqār Khān, who was encamped on an elevated position between the old and new towns, could not resist Shujā due to illness. The other wavering imperial officers in such a critical position vainly held a council of war to come to any

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55. TS. 126a-130b.

56. TS. 126a-131a; Poem. 201; ZA. 98; AN. 516-16; EFIX. 289-90; Aurang. II. 590.

57. Patura or Puttorah is situated five miles south of Rājmahal. Ind. Atlas. 112.

decision. They quarreled with each other and ultimately left the city at night for Murshidābād. Two other enemy generals, Sujan Singh Hindū (Rājpūt ?) and Islām Khān attempted to resist Shujā and fought bravely. Shujā's artillery fired on the enemy from the river and the weight of the shells were between one to two maunds, but the enemy replied with arrows and match-locks. In this war many of the enemy soldiers were killed and Islām Khān found it impossible to stick to his position. Finally, all of them evacuated the town and retreated to Mīr Jumla, deserting all the strategic positions and leaving behind all their properties. Shujā seized all the properties left by the enemy, recovered his capital and re-established his position on the western bank of the Ganga[58].

Shujā by his promptness achieved his first object; but his second object to isolate Mīr Jumla in the south did not materialise. The veteran general was not sitting idle during the debacle of Rājmahal and by his numerical superiority he attempted to clear off the southern routes of Hugli and even the hinterland beyond it from the Shujāite Zamīndārs of south-west Bengal. At the order of Mīr Jumla, an imperial faujdār (Muhammad Sharif ?) marched in the early part of July (July 4 ?) at the head of 500 cavalry to clear the way between Kashimbazar and Hugli, to conquer Hugli again and even to capture Midnapore. Foster in his letter from Kashimbazar to Davis the Hugli factor stated that Mirzā Isfandyār, Shujā's Governor of Engilee (Hijili), was proceeding towards Hugli at the head of 6,000 infantry, 500 cavalry and some gelliares (Jalbas) to protect the Governor of Hugli from the attack of the imperialists. From the foregoing it is clear that till then Mīr Jumla could not subdue the southern

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58. TS. 125b; Poem. 201-02; AN. 516-19; Aurang. II. 590-91; EFIX. 289-90; Ball. I. 275.

part of Bengal. The imperialists occupied Huglī not before the middle of September 1659 and Midnapore at the beginning of the same month. Till then the army of Shujā was in occupation of Nārāyan Garh, about 17 miles south-east of Midnapore[59].

Shujā sent Fidāī Khān against Dāūd Khān : After the recovery of Rājmahal Shujā had to conduct war on two fronts, one against Dāūd Khān and the other against Mīr Jumla. He gave much importance to Mīr Jumla, whose defeat would make Dāūd Khān's advance futile, but he did not ignore the latter altogether. So he decided to lead the attack on Mīr Jumla and deputed his general Fīdāī Khān to help his admiral Khwāja Mishki (Itibār Khān) who was fighting against Dāūd.

On the fourth day after the recovery of Rājmahal, he summoned Fidāī Khān to proceed towards Monghyr and to fight the enemy from Bhāgālpūr to Sūrajgarh. He was ordered to occupy the villages to station his men on the roads and to acquire and bring under control all the ferries and then to cross to the right bank between Bhāgālpūr and Kahalgaon to attack Dāūd in concert with Itibār Khān. Shujā also decided that he would attack Dāūd at the end of the rainy season[60].

Fidāī Khān proceeds towards Monghyr : Fidāī Khān advanced at the head of 1,000 soldiers towards Monghyr. He was honoured by the prince with a Khilat, an elephant and a horse with gold trappings. Shamshir Khān, an imperial general,

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59. EFIX. 290-91; From Foster's letter of July 5, it becomes clear that Huglī was previously captured by the imperialists but it was recovered by Shujā. Higili (Ingellee) is a coastal tract bound Tamluk in the north, Jallasore and Midnapore in the west and Huglī estuary on the eastern side, (10 miles east of Contai).
Nārāyan Garh, 17 miles S.E. of Midnapore. Ind. Atlas. Sh. 7.

60. Poem. 206-08.

on receipt of this news, considering it unwise to give fight with his depleted strength, proceeded towards Jahāngīrshāh (Jahāngīra) in order to offer battle to the Shujāites jointly with Ismail[61].

Fidāī Khān reached Bhāgālpūr and halted there for several days and thought of attacking Ismail Khān at night. He with his army suddenly appeared before Jahāngīrshāh. Ismail and Shamshir were surprised at this sudden attack for which they were totally unprepared. Some of the enemy soldiers took to flight either to Monghyr or to Sūrajgarh and the rest were killed by the cannon of Fidāī Khān. Ismail was wounded in his eye by an arrow and Shamshir, the nephew of Alī Qulī, attempted to carry the wounded Ismail on his own horse back to Monghyr. But two Shujāities, Hasan Beg and Mirzā Beg, chased the enemy, caught hold of Shamshir and killed and dragged Ismail down from the horse. Fidai then posted 'Tarafdars' and 'Rahadars' in every village and brought under his control all the strategic posts. He narrated to Shujā in a letter the war against Ismail and the action taken after his victory and also stated that he was awaiting at Jahāngīra for Shujā's further order[62].

Shujā was very happy at Fidāī's success and he honoured the general with a Khilat and despatched a messenger to the latter with a farmān and 330 dirhams. Shujā instructed Fidāī to occupy all the ferries and not to advance towards Monghyr and Sūrajgarh unless advised. He also asked him to collect the revenue from the entire country and to proceed quickly with all his army, Kusas and Ghurabs, to the aid of Itibār Khān against Dāūd and fall upon the enemy with

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61. Ibid. 206-11.

62. Ibid. 212-17.

cannon and rockets. Shujā also ordered that "after victory, do not slay him (Dāūd); and you should put to sword Rashīd, Chīragh (Abdul), Maāl, Hadi, Yusuf and all others and send their armies to me so that I can enrol them in my service. Then I would go against Mīr Jumla and by God's favour, I will defeat and humiliate him, so as to set an example to all subordinates, that no subordinate would dare to fight his master"[63].

Fidāī Khān following Shujā's instruction, met Itibār Khān and in a joint meeting it was decided to encircle Dāūd with boats and overwhelm him with rockets and cannon. After demoralising the enemy they would land with all armies, plunder the enemy camps and imprison Dāūd. Both Fidāī and Itibār collected together all their boats, both Kusas and Ghurab, and each boat (Kisti) was manned by 10 soldiers. One general with 100 soldiers remained at Jahāngīra to keep watch on the movement of the enemy and guard the town against any surprise attack[64].

Itibār and Fidāī Khān's naval battle with Dāūd : Both Itibār and Fidāī Khān very soon reached near Dāūd with their flotilla and started discharging cannon, match-locks, small guns and rockets on the enemy. Dāūd with his army took shelter in murchal and replied with arrows and match-locks. He also ordered his rocket-men to fire cannon, camel swivels and rockets from all sides on the Shujāites. There was fierce fighting in which many were killed. But Shujā's generals could inflict no great damage on the enemy owing to their distance. The fight continued till the evening. Dāūd with his guards remained vigilant

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63. Ibid. 218-20.

64. Ibid. 221-23.

throughout the night against any surprise attack.

Next morning Itibār and Fidāī with their flotilla again attacked the enemy with cannon and rockets and the enemy in reply discharged heavy cannon, rockets, match-locks and camel swivels. The smoke of firing from both sides darkened the sky and this continued till noon when Fidāī Khān and Itibār Khān went to the mid-stream but the enemy remained in the murchals. Suddenly Rashīd Khān and Chīrag Beg made a dash. The Shujāites were surprised at such a sudden attack and being afraid hastily retreated when some of their boats sank. During their retreat their cannon and rocket fire compelled Rashīd and Chīrag to take shelter in the murchal. Once more the same day Shujā's 710 boats re-appeared and fired on the enemy. But they retreated at the approach of night. Next day also there was an indecisive naval battle. After a week, the water subsided and, as a result, the arrival of Shujā's flotilla was hampered and he was forced to retreat[65].

Fidāī Khān and Itibār Khān reached Jahāngīra with all army and 700 boats and wrote a letter to Shujā describing their one week's war and the circumstances under which they were forced to retreat to the Ganga. They awaited for further order from the prince.

The failure of Fidāī Khān and Itibār Khān against Dāūd disappointed Shujā. His dream of regaining his position and becoming the Emperor of Delhi received another cruel blow and his mind was completely filled with frustration which is clearly revealed in his letter to Fidāī Khān : "My plans have not been

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65. Ibid. 224-33.

successful. I think there has been a turn in the tide of my fortune, and I will suffer defeat; and the enemy will take away my crown and the throne. More fight against Aurangzeb, whom God has made Emperor, is unavailing. As his fortune was good, he has got an expert like Mīr Jumla. If He had not wished him to be Emperor, He would not have given him such an intelligent man..... ..... It is my order that you bring the soldiers so that I might go, by force march from Akbarnagar to Mīr Jumla and fight him and see the march of time and see whom Heaven pleases, subdues and drowns in blood"[66]. Shujā also ordered Itibār Khān to remain there, to occupy all the ferries and obstruct Dāūd's progress. On receipt of this letter Fidāī retreated in the middle of September and Itibār remained behind with the Ghurabs to prevent Dāūd's march upon Akbarnagar[67].

Fresh military and monetary aid from Delhi strengthened Dāūd Khān and he proceeded towards Monghyr from Qazī Keria in the month of December 1659, as ordered by Aurangzeb. Soon Dāūd with all his boats reached Jahāngīrshāh but here he found the passage entirely blocked by Itibār Khān with Kusas and Ghurabs. Itibār Khān on seeing Dāūd's boats, discharged volleys of cannon, rockets, camel swivels and elephant swivels from his fleet. The enemy also replied with cannon, match-locks and rockets. With the approach of night Itibār's men retreated.

Next day Itibār Khān attacked the enemy with a large flotilla. With a view to encircle and capture Dāūd, he divided his flotilla into two divisions

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66. Ibid. 235-36.

67. Ibid. 234-38.

and instructed one division to attack from the rear and the other in the front with artillery. The enemy replied with rockets and elephant swivels. Soon Rashīd Khān, on receipt of the news, rushed on horse back with his men and attacked with 'banduq', 'hathnal' and 'arrow'. There was fierce fighting and many were slain on both sides. Eventually being highly pressed by the enemy, Itibār was forced to retreat. Shujā's general Ma'aruf fought at the head of 1,000 infantry and cavalry against the Rozbihanis but was defeated. Forty pieces of cannon and 300 sepoys of Ma'aruf fell into the hands of the enemy[68].

After two days Dāūd's soldiers numbering about a hundred started for Monghyr and came to the bank of the Ganga by boat. On the way Itibār Khān blocked their passage and started firing. Both sides exchanged cannon balls weighing about one to two maunds. Itibār Khān heavily charged the imperial soldiers and slaughtered some of them, but ultimately he was defeated. At last with great exertion Dāūd reached Monghyr, along with Rozbihanis carried in forty boats. The enemy set up murchals on both bank of the river and constantly fired to prevent Itibār Khān from proceeding north-wards. Chīrag Bahādur Muhammad, the fort-holder of Monghyr was also ordered by Dāūd to fire from the fort[69].

War between Itibār Khān and Dāūd Khān near Monghyr : In such a condition, Itibār Khān kept a part of his flotilla in the down-stream and advanced with the other part. The advance party planned to capture the Rozbihanis in their entrenchments and started firing from the boats. The enemy returned heavily from the fort, murchals and the Ganga. Elephant swivels, arrows and match-locks

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68. Ibid. 253-60.

69. Ibid. 261-66.

were discharged by both the parties and the fight continued for three days which resulted in the killing of many on both sides. Being disappointed, Itibār Khān retreated towards Jahāngīrshāh and Dāūd ordered his men to cross the Ganga which took three days and three nights[70].

The Shujāites fought three battles with great distinction against Dāūd on the latter's march to Jahāngīrshāh. From Tiljuga to the environs of Monghyr they fought against the imperialists everyday but at last they had to retreat. Itibār Khān lost forty cannon and 10,000 iron barrels which were captured by Dāūd. Day after day Itibār Khān continued his attacks with his innumerable ghurabs and Kusas and constantly discharged 'Camel swivels', 'Cannon balls', 'Tufung' etc. but could not resist Dāūd who at last reached Jahāngīrshāh[71].

Itibār Khān's war with the enemy on their way to Tanda : Mīr Jumla instructed Dāūd immediately to cross the Ganga and proceed towards Tanda to capture Shujā's goods, pearls, treasures, etc. He also ordered Dāūd to wait there till his arrival at Rājmahal and to capture Shujā if he attempted to cross the Ganga. Dāūd acted accordingly and in a short time reached Bhāgālpūr. Here the Shujāite general, Yusuf, at the head of 3,000 cavalry and 1,000 infantry, waited in a nearby village to make a night-attack on the enemy; but Dāūd got the intelligence beforehand through his spy about the plan and position of the enemy. Dāūd at once despatched Chīrag at the head of the Rozbihanis against Yusuf Khān.

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70. Ibid. 266-67.

71. Ibid. 267-70.

A guard noticed the advance of the imperialist and at once reported it to Yusuf. Yusuf immediately ordered his soldiers to equip themselves with saddle and tir. He had 1,000 banduqchi and ban-dar (rocket-men) and the battle started with arrow and tufang. After a contested battle Yusuf's army was shattered and the general fled away. Many Shujāites were imprisoned and their huge stores, elephant swivels, match-locks, rockets, head dresses, etc. were captured by the enemy[72].

Itibār Khān was always behind Dāūd and he attacked with 700 boats when the enemy was about to start for Kohalgam (Colong ?). Artillery encounter continued between the two forces for a long time but again Itibār was defeated and forced to retreat to Pialapur. There the river was narrow and Itibār at once made a bridge of boats for his soldiers to cross it. Then he quickly arranged his cannon, match-locks, elephant swivels and rockets on boats and determined to make a stand there. Soon Dāūd advanced towards Itibār and attacked him. The battle continued till one 'ghari' past noon. Ultimately Itibār was again forced to retreat and Dāūd crossed the Ganga on his way towards Tanda. Itibār Khān once more attacked the enemy with his 700 boats before they reached Garhi but failed to check them. Near Garhi the water route towards Rājmahal was blocked by Sayyid Tajuddin Barha, Itibār Khān and Jamāl Ghori who was commissioned by Shujā to block Dāūd's way to Akbarnagar via Garhi. They placed their ghurabs and Kusas in the river and firmly posted their well-equipped soldiers in entrenchments. The timely arrival of the Shujāites frustrated the enemy's attempt to construct a canal for their boats.

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72. Ibid. 271-75; Mīr's letter to Dāūd, Ibid. 280-82.

Now the Shujāite generals planned to attack the enemy from two sides. Dāūd's son dared to launch an attack on them. So the imperialists in three divisions under Hamid, Qadir and Chīrag proceeded by boat. After severe fighting the Shujāites were ultimately forced to retreat and entrench on the Kosi. Many of them were taken captives also.

After one night Dāūd reached Kosi. Itibār Khān ordered his army to use all kinds of weapon to check the enemy's advance. In reply to the enemy firing the Shujāites made artillery discharges from Kusas and Ghurabs. Unfortunately, one cannon ball of the enemy hit Jamāl in his eye and he was killed. Itibār, being defeated, fled and entrenched at Samdah (opposite Rājmahal), with heavy artillery. Dāūd now constructed a bridge of boats and crossed the river Kosi with all his boats. At that time Shujā's faujdār of Purnea while proceeding to his master with 30,000 dirhams, 20 Kusas equipped with cannon, innumerable elephant-swivels and rockets, was intercepted and enlisted in the imperial service by Fatullah who was sent by Dāūd at the head of 500 soldiers on receipt of the news from the spy. This was undoubtedly a great loss to Shujā when he was in urgent need of help[73]. From Samdah Itibār Khān appealed to Shujā for further help in order to defend the 'Char' of Samdah from the impending enemy attack[74].

Battle near Belghata and Giria : Itibār Khān was all along fighting Dāūd. After the re-capture of Rājmahal Shujā deputed Fidāī Khān to the aid of

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73. Ibid. 296-315; Itibār Khān retreated to Samdah in the third week of December, most probably on 20th. Aurang. II. 594.

74. Poem. 350.

Itibār against Dāūd and himself was stationed at Rājmahal with the intention to proceed against Mīr Jumla after the rainy season was over. This he did according to the advice of Muhammad Sultān and of his generals.

At the close of the rainy season when Itibār was fighting Dāūd in the west, Shujā started from Rājmahal at the head of 12,000 mail-clad warriors and a strong flotilla of Kusas and Ghurabs[75], to fight Mīr Jumla on the other end. He proceeded through Dunapur, Dogachi[76] and Suti and after two months reached Belghata[77]. Marching from Dunapur Shujā got down from his horse at Suti and halted there for one night. Then he again started and reached Belghata and encamped very near to Mīr Jumla's camp. The rival armies were separated from each other by a nala, and ready for the fight.

Next morning (6th December) Shujā wore mail-clad armour, cap, sword of Hindūstan and one shield. Then he arranged his army in the following way : Buland Ākhtar and some Khāns with 3,000 cavalry remained on the right; on the left stood Khān-i-zamān and seven other Khāns at the head of 3,000 soldiers;

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75. The Rozbihani writer stated that Shujā "started with 20,000 mail-clad warriors, elephants with howda, each with three camel piece and three fusileers, artillery, match-lockmen, rocketmen, 1,000 foot soldiers, innumerable Kusas and Ghurabs". Poem. 327. But according to military arrangements of Shujā in his battle against Mīr Jumla on December 6, 1659, it becomes clear that he had no less than 12,000 soldiers. Poem. 330. Jadunāth Sarkār stated that Shujā started with 8,000 soldiers. Aurang. II. 591. Perhaps neither the Rozbihani writer's first figure at P. 327 nor Sarkār is correct and the figure might be about 12,000.

76. Dogachi is 13 miles below Rājmahal.

77. Belghata is about 8 miles south of Suti.

Shujā remained in the centre with 3,000 soldiers and Muhammad Sultān went to the van with 3,000 cavalry. The soldiers were equipped with match-lock and rockets. In the front stood several elephants with flags of different colours, each howda with three Zambur (camel piece) and three fusilleers (Zamburi) and the artillery was stationed in front of the elephants[78].

The battle started at about 1.1/2 'Prahars' of the day. After spending some days in cannonade and skirmishing, Shujā, in order to deceive the enemy, pretended to retreat towards Rājmahal on December 15. But when the enemy made an attempt to pursue and encircle them, Muhammad Sultān at the head of 3,000 soldiers, suddenly veered round and attacked Ekkatāz Khān who was guarding the right bridge with 400 men. At Ekkatāz's request for help, Zulfiqār Khān was sent at once at the head of 7,000 mixed forces of Aghar and Rozbihani. Ekkatāz was wounded by elephant swivel and many soldiers of the enemy were killed by the ferocious attack of the Shujāites. Muhammad Sultān, with heavy artillery volleys, reached very near the bridge. Zulfiqār Khān in spite of his numerical superiority reeled at Shujāite's terrific fire, fled carrying wounded Ekkatāz to their own side of the nala and burnt the bridge to prevent the Shujāites from pursuing them[79].

When Muhammad Sultān was fighting against Zulfiqār Khān and Ekkatāz Khān, Mīr Jumla led a well-planned attack against Shujā. Prior to this attack, the family of prince Shujā and of his generals had been removed to Malda along with

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78. Poem. 326-31; AN. 519-20; ZA. 99; TS. 131a; EFIX. 298.

79. Poem. 336-39; AN. 520-21; ZA. 100.

all belongings. When Shujā was waiting near Giria, on the bank of the Bhagirathi, Mīr Jumla attacked Shujā's rear which was commanded by Isfandyār Mamuri and discharged cannon ball, elephant swivels and camel swivels. Isfandyār with his 1,000 sawār made a determined stand. But he received about 15 wounds, two of which were serious and fell from his horse. Mirzā Jān Beg who was also in the rear of the army, at once collected as many cannon as possible and stood like a rock before the approaching enemy. He discharged cannon balls of about 10 to 15 seers weight. On the other hand, Shujā was hard pressed by Mīr Jumla's terrific firing and Muhammad Sultān had to rush to his aid. Muhammad Sultān attacked the enemy with cannon, elephant swivels, camel swivels and rockets. The enemy was mowed down before the ferocious attack of the Shujāites and for some time Mīr Jumla "could neither advance nor retreat". Suddenly, the enemy retreated in great disorder[80].

The battle lasted till one 'Prahar' of the night. Both sides were exhausted especially Mīr Jumla. The artillery fire of the Shujāites totally confused Mīr Jumla and many of his best soldiers were killed. "At last he retreated towards his camp with care and skill and became feeble in spite of the superiority of his army and materials. If Shujā had charged, the Mīr's position would have worsed". With great difficulty he reached his camp, because artillery fire was still going on. At night when Mirzā Jān Beg was informed that Isfandyār was lying in the field wounded, he sent Dil Singh Rājpūt to bring the wounded general and put him under treatment[81].

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80. Poem. 339-45; AN. 522-24; ZA. 99; TS. 132a-b; Aurang. II. 592.

81. Poem. 345-46; AN. 525; ZA. 101; TS. 133a-b; Aurang. II. 593. Āqil Khān (P. 99-103) states that Mīr Jumla surrounded Shujā in a village named Gheria and he could imprison the prince if he was bold enough. Jadunāth Sarkār remarked that Āqil Khān might not be totally wrong, but Masum tells the opposite story.

Next day there was another artillery duel, which also ended without any decision. Mīr Jumla with his inferior artillery and dwindling ammunition decided not to wage any fruitless skirmishes to waste his man power and retreated from the nala towards Murshidābād. On the other hand, Shujā was able to take his guns in and out of his boats, and had also enlisted excellent gunners from the Europeans of Hugli, Tamluk and Noakhali. Shujā was emboldened at Mīr's retreat and overestimated his strength. He totally ignored the danger in his rear and with the intention of cutting off Mīr Jumla from Murshidābād, crossed the Bhagirathi. Then he marched parallel to the enemy down to the other bank of the river upto Nashipur (Nashirpur, 12 miles north of Murshidābād town) and then to recross the river to cut off enemy's retreat. Near Nashipur a cross-river artillery duel continued for several days. On the night of December 26, 1659, when Shujā was about to cross the river he got bad news from Itibār Khān in which the Khān stated his inability to resist Dāūd[82], and appealed for further help from Char Samdah.

Shujā's retreat towards Samdah : Itibār Khān in a letter to Shujā stated that even after a strong fight he failed to stall the advance of Dāūd. He added that many of his distinguished warriors were either killed, wounded or captured. Now he had constructed a big entrenchment at Samdah[83] and appealed to Shujā to send reinforcement immediately because Dāūd was waiting on the opposite side of Akharpur for the arrival of Dilīr Khān with 3,000 soldiers. The plan of the enemy was to reach Tanda, to capture the treasures and the stores of Shujā and

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82. Poem. 347-48; AN. 524-26; TS. 133b-34a; Aurang. II. 393.

83. Samdah is 87°31'E, 25°24'N. Topographical Sh. No. $72\frac{O}{11}$.

then to cross the river Ganga to fight Shujā[84].

Samdah was important by virtue of its position. Though it was surrounded on all sides by water, it was the last entrenched post between Shujā and the imperialists. The fall of Samdah would endanger Shujā's family, sheltered at Malda. So in great alarm Shujā called a meeting of the council of war. In the council it was decided that Shujā would cross the Ganga and proceed from two sides towards Samdah and surround it on all sides by flotilla. Then he would construct entrenchments, place big guns and stop the enemy from crossing the river. His elephant corps would march first and construct entrenchments to receive the entire army. Shujā asked all his soldiers to follow him and he issued orders that the family and property of any deserter would be confiscated. At the end of the night of December 26, Shujā left Nashipur, retreated towards Suti in order to cross the Bhagirathi there and finally to fall back on Tanda[85]. Thus the failure of Itibār Khān affected the plan of Shujā and led to further embarrassments.

Next morning Shujā took shelter behind a nala which was flanked on three sides by bogs and he placed his artillery in front. Mīr Jumla, on receipt of this news, rushed that place at about mid-day and attacked but could do nothing in such a swampy land. The enemy halted for a time but again started a fruitless artillery duel in the evening and returned to their camp after sunset. Next morning

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84. Poem. 350; TS. 134a.

85. Shujā's council of war. Poem. 351-53; Shujā's retreat to Suti, Poem. 354; TS. 134a; AN. 526; ZA. 101. For Samdah and Tanda see Rennell, Sh. 15.

(December 28) Shujā retreated from his position and wanted to cross the ferry opposite Tartipur[86], in order to proceed towards Suti[87]. Mīr Jumla hotly pursued him and encamped half a mile beyond Suti while Shujā encamped at Chilmari and faced the imperialists[88].

Next day (December 29) the artillery duel continued till evening and about 100 of Shujā's daring soldiers attacked the wing of the enemy and there was a sword fight. Both the armies stopped fighting at about one hour after the sunset. On 30th Nurul Hasan, a general of Shujā, left the prince and went over to the imperial camp. Shujā's plan to cross the river there was frustrated by the enemy's constant vigilance. So, Shujā at the end of the night of January 1, 1660, moved towards Dunapur[89]. Shujā without halting at Dunapur retreated towards Dogachi and during his departure destroyed the bridges on the nala near Dunapur to prevent the enemy from pursuit. Shujā, in order to ensure a swift retreat, left some materials of artillery, 10 pieces of cannon and 200 rockets, near the nala which were later captured by the enemy[90].

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86. Tartipur or Turtiypour is about 3/4 miles east of Suti on the eastern bank of the Ganga. Rennel, Sh. 15.

87. Suti is at 88°85'E, 24°33'N. Topographical, Sh. No. $78\frac{D}{2}$

88. AN. 526-28; Poem. 359-61.

89. Dunapur or Deonapur is 88°0'E, 24°44'N. Topographical, Sh. No. $78\frac{D}{2}$

90. AN. 528-30; Aurang. II. 585; Dagachi is 3/4 miles north of Dunapur. Rennell, Sh. 15; 87°55'E, 24°52'N. Topographical, Sh. No. $72\frac{P}{13}$. Date of retreat towards Dogachi, EFIX. 298.

At Dogachi Shujā wanted to combine the stratagems he had adopted at the mid-stream island opposite Dogachi and also at Giria. In his entrenchment he placed his cannon and rockets and instructed his soldiers to conceal themselves behind the artillery and to fire on the enemy when they would come near. Mīr Jumla became aware of this and remained on the alert. But in spite of his warning two imperial generals, Fateh Jung and Islām Khān, advanced towards the nala. Shujā's soldiers suddenly opened fire. Shujā himself came to the field and instructed the army. The artillery duel continued in which many of the enemy soldiers were killed. The intense cannonade of the Shujāites frustrated the attempt of the imperial soldiers under Mīr Jumla, Fidāī Khān and Zulfiqār Khān to cross the nala. The fight which continued till the end of the mid-night, at first Shujā dominated because of his superior artillery and killed many imperialists. At last the enemy was strengthened when reinforcements arrived whereupon, heavy casualties were inflicted on Shujā's troops. At mid-night Shujā stopped firing and both sides returned to their camps[91].

On January 2, 1660, Mīr Jumla marched towards Rājmahal along the left side of the nala and Shujā advanced along the eastern side of the nala parallel to the enemy with the Ganga on his right. He was now in a great dilemma. How could he cross the Ganga so close to the enemy ? If he moved first, his army would desert him and if he crossed last, he would be captured by the enemy. So he dug a deep moat round his camp, and mounted the big guns over it. He sent Muhammad Sultān to Tanda. Frustrating Mīr Jumla's attempt to resist him, Shujā under the cover of darkness on the night of January 9, constructed a bridge of

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91. Shujā's strategem, Poem. 361-64, 364-65, 371-72; AN. 530-31; ZA. 101-02.

boats over the Ganga, crossed the river with all his army and belongings and boats. Now Shujā reached Samdah and constructed entrenchment along the bank of the Ganga to resist the imminent attack of the enemy. On January 11, the imperialists re-captured Rājmahal and thus the entire country west of the Ganga was lost to Shujā for ever[92].

D. The War on the East of the Ganga :

Condition of both the armies : In the first half of January 1660, the entire country on the western bank of the Ganga slipped out of Shujā's control. Though Shujā was still in possession of the country on the eastern side of the Ganga, his strength and courage were rapidly dwindling. The number of soldiers was rapidly declining and it was difficult for him to recover the lost ground. At the arrival of Dilīr Khān and Dāūd Khān with large number of troops, armaments and money the courage and hope of Shujā was practically shattered. Disappointment and frustration seized Shujā. This feeling was evident when a cannon ball of the enemy passed over the head of Shujā at Samdah and the prince casting his eyes on the ball remarked that "he might have been saved from dishonour, if it had fallen on him"[93]. On the eastern bank Shujā had to guard a long route from Samdah[94] in the north west to Tanda[95] in the south-east with his depleted army. His head-quarters was at Chauki Mirdadpur, in the middle of this line[96].

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92. Poem. 373-74; AN. 531-32; ZA. 103; TS. 134a; Aurang. II. 595-96; For Shujā's dilemma, Aurang. II. 595; EFIX. 298.

93. For Shujā's remarks : TS. 135a.

94. Samdah is 8 miles east of Rājmahal 87°43'E, 25°0'N. Topography, Sh. No.72$\frac{O}{7}$

95. Tanda is about 4 miles west of the ruined city of Gaur.

96. Aurang. II. 598.

On the other hand, the enemy was strengthened with the arrival of Dilīr Khān at the head of 2,500 Afghāns from the imperial capital. Mīr Jumla posted officers and agents in every pargana and chakla and set up new thanas between Dogachi and Suti[97]. Now he planned "to cross the Ganga 10 miles above Rājmahal, join Dāūd Khān near Akbarpur (east of Sakrigoli), pass over the shallow upper courses of the Mahananda and some nalas, reach Malda, and then turn sharply south, cross the Mahananda again, and swoop down upon Tanda from the east, and thus completely enmesh Shujā in the net. All the while he would keep a screen of men in front of the enemy's trenches along the Kalindi river, and deceive him with feints"[98]. The immense superiority of soldiers enabled Mīr Jumla to chalk out a plan to make a semi-circle round the line of Shujā.

Shujā faces the imperialists at Samdah : Shujā planned to wait personally with a large army to face Mīr Jumla at Samdah and to despatch Muhammad Sultān with guns and boats against Dilīr Khān and Dāūd Khān across the Mahananda river. But the advance of Mīr Jumla at Samdah on January 17, upset his plan and he had to recall all the armies, re-assemble all the boats and qarawals were deputed to purloin the boatmen of Bengal residing at Samdah. Shujā heavily equipped his trenches with cannon and rockets. To counteract Shujā's measures, Mīr Jumla speeded up the construction of a bridge of boats on the third stream and deputed a contingent to face Shujā's qarawals. To prevent the local boatsmen from joining Shujā, Mīr Jumla set up a thana at Samdah (part of which already was under his control) with 1,000 soldiers.

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97. AN. 532-34; TS. 134a-b; ZA. 103; Poem. 374-77, 379-80.

98. Aurang. II. 598.

Shujā was unable to face the imperialist in the open field because the strength of his army was rapidly declining. But he offered a stubborn resistance along the Kalindi and Mahananda (Kalindi a branch of Mahananda). He constructed strong and big walls and double line of entrenchments along the Kalindi to block the direct road of Mīr Jumla to Tanda. He posted Sayyid Tāj and Khwāja Mishki in charge of the entrenchments while he himself along with Muhammad Sultān stayed at the ghat of Chauki-Mirdadpur, opposite Samdah. In such a condition Mīr Jumla did not dare desert Samdah and advance further. So he ordered Dāūd to make a surprise attack at night on Shujā's entrenchment. But the Shujāites gave a strong reply to Dāūd's attack and the fight went on for about one week throughout day and night. Every attempt of the enemy to force a passage through Shujā's trenches along the bank of the Mahananda was frustrated by Sayyid Tāj and Khwāja Mishki[99].

Now the enemy planned first to cross the Kalindi about its junction with Mahananda and then to cross the latter, but they failed to do it because of the water was too deep. Soon Mīr Jumla discovered a ford in the upper course of Mahananda near Gunrakha[100] and went there on January 31, 1660, to cross the river. At that very night when the enemy crossed the river under the leadership of Farhad Khān, Shujā's army attempted to oppose them but failed. About 5,000 imperialists including beldars, qarawals, Uzbegs and auxiliaries crossed the river Mahananda between February 1 and 3.

On February 3, Sayyid Tāj and Khwāja Mishki in alarm fled to Shujā but three of their soldiers were captured by the enemy. They informed Shujā that the

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99. Ibid. 599-600; AN. 534-37; 546; Poem. 380-84, 424-27.

100. Gunrakha was 8 miles distance from imperial camp in one way and only four miles by another and was surrounded by jungles full of savage rustics. AN. 538.

enemy had crossed the river under Dilīr and Dāūd and suggested immediate action. At this news Shujā became very much dejected and remarked "Never have I been successful against Mīr Jumla even when the latter had a numerically inferior force. What success have I won before, that now I may hope to drive him out of my country ? Now the entire force of Aurangzeb is with him"[101].

In that critical moment Shujā planned to wait for the rainy season to fight Mīr Jumla with Kusas and Ghurabs. He thought it not at all judicious to fight against the superior number of the enemies but considered it advisable to hold them for one month till the rains would come and then he would stop their supplies and starve them. On February 4, Mīr Jumla carried his artillery and crossed Samdah on elephants and his soldiers also followed him over the bridge of boats. On the other side Shujā dug trenches and posted his soldiers and artillery. Next day (February 5), the enemy under Dilīr and Dāūd came near Shujā's deserted trenches and ordered Bozbihani scouts under Chīrag to discover the bridge used by Shujā but was frustrated due to the artillary firing of the Shujāites. Mīr Jumla then crossed the easternmost branch of the Ganga and the Mahananda along with his elephants, fast boats and troops and reached the bank of the nala which he bridged on February 7. The imperial general then despatched Sayyid Salar Khān at the head of a detachment towards Malda to surround Shujā and block the latter's retreat to the south. Shujā at that time, without assigning any reason ordered Muhammad Sultān to go to Tanda where his family was residing. Perhaps Shujā apprehended that Muhammad Sultān would betray him at that critical moment of his career and would return to the enemy camp which he actually did later on.

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101. Shujā's remarks - Poem. 388.

A few months prior to this Zain-ul-ābidīn and Sayyid Ālam as we have already seen, were deputed to Dācca to bring to book Rashīd Khān, an officer of Shujā there, who had revolted against his master, and this had been done successfully. All the stores, treasures and followers of Rashīd Khān were enlisted in Shujā's service. When the revolt had been subdued, Shujā sent a message to Zain-ul-ābidīn stating his precarious condition and asked him to send back Sayyid Ālam with his army. His drooping spirit was revived temporarily when Zain-ul-ābidīn and Sayyid Ālam waited on him within two weeks at the head of 1,000 cavalry, 500 infantry and 200 cannon from Dācca. Now Shujā posted Sayyid Ālam to guard the river bank so that Mīr Jumla could not cross the river[102].

Muhammad Sultān deserts Shujā : The arrival of Zain-ul-ābidīn and Sayyid Ālam from Dācca could not save Shujā from disaster. His rejuvenated spirit got a rude shock because of an unexpected event. The arrival of Muhammad Sultān in the camp of his uncle had increased the strength and courage which helped to change the course of war in his favour. But in the first week of February 1660, fortune deserted Shujā again and the tide of war went against him. He lost battle after battle and was cornered by the imperialists. He planned to defend himself against the enemy after the arrival of Zain-ul-ābidīn and Sayyid Ālam. But he was totally disappointed and his plan was shattered when Muhammad Sultān, his nephew as well as son-in-law, left him and went over to the enemy camp at this time.

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102. Poem. 385-406; AN. 536-41; TS. 134b; Aurang. II. 599-600; the Rozbihani writer has stated that Shujā's son 'Dīn Muhammad' was summoned from Dācca, but Shujā had no son in the above name, perhaps the writer wrongly mentioned Dīn Muhammad in place of Jain Muhammad (Jain-ul-ābidīn), Poem. 397.

It has been stated before that the arrival of Muhammad Sultān in Shujā's camp increased the latter's strength. Since the defection of the prince Mīr Jumla was constantly thinking how to bring about a rift between the uncle and the nephew and how to get back the run-away prince for which the Emperor Aurangzeb was also pressing. At last the general resorted to a trick often used by his master over his enemies. He wrote a letter to Muhammad Sultān in which he requested "him to continue as he was doing, until occasion arose to fulfil his promise to his father"[103]. As intended by Mīr Jumla, the letter fell into the hands of Shujā which greatly shocked and frightened him. Having been defeated again and again, he had lost his morale, and he had become shaky. Naturally, on receipt of this letter he became suspicious of Muhammad Sultān and as a measure of safety Shujā "took away the small body guard he had assigned him and forbade him to enter the palace"[104]. Muhammad Sultān vainly tried to defend himself by declaring the letter a forgery.

Now Muhammad Sultān was in the most unenviable position of his life. He had lost the confidence of his uncle who was now a losing partner and it was not possible for him to stay anymore in the latter's camp. So he secretly opened negotiation with Islām Khān, an imperial general camped on the opposite side of Tanda. At that very moment an incident took place which furnished him with a plea for his return to the imperial camp. Summoned by Shujā, Sayyid Ālam returned from Dācca and drums which were sounded at his arrival offended the prestige of Muhammad Sultān and he felt it humiliating to stay there any more. He, in anger,

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103. Contents of the letter quoted from Storia. I. 337.

104. Shujā's suspicion and the steps taken : Ibid.

remarked : "From the time of Tīmūr till now drums have not been sounded for any one (except for the royal members); my heart rages with fury, let me go to my father; better even if he slays me than cherish anger against such generals"[105]. So, in the evening of February 8, he took a boat on the pretext of fishing in the river, ordered the boatsmen to row fast and in the darkness of night slipped to the camp of Islām Khān at Dogachi[106].

Prince Shujā was mortally shocked when he came to know of this and in a broken heart he lamented for Muhammad Sultān. He said : "A prince does not flee away, even if he is under a sharp sword; this does not befit a prince; if he wanted to go to his father why did he not inform me ? I myself would have arranged for his going with stores, treasures, and materials. I think that Sultān has fled because of fear of imprisonment at my hand; but why have I given my daughter to him ? I could have imprisoned him earlier. My tears are for my fate; there is no one to help me. Even he whom I benefit turns to be my foe; for, look at Sultān - in what position was he and how I raised him. He came penniless from his father, I have given him my daughter and more than half of my kingdom and materials, and how he deceives me"[107]. Indeed Shujā loved his nephew very much and did nothing without consulting the latter. The letter of Mīr Jumla sowed suspicion in Shujā's mind but he did not take any drastic step as Aurangzeb might have taken under similar circumstances. So, in

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105. Muhammad Sultān's remarks; Poem. 407.

106. Ibid. 407-08.

107. Shujā's lamentation. Poem. 414-15.

magnanimity and greatness, Shujā was unparalleled among his brothers[108].

The battle of Malda and the enemy's advance towards Tanda: Shujā was depressed at the departure of Muhammad Sultān but was determined to offer a firm resistance to the imperialists. He posted his army all along the bank of the river to keep watch on the passages and prevent the enemy from crossing the river.

On the other hand, the imperialists planned to encircle Shujā from all sides and with the intention of blocking the latter's retreat to the south, decided to force a passage across the Mahananda. Buland Akhtar and Sayyid Ālam were guarding the right bank of the river. Mīr Jumla came to know from the local Zamīndārs that the river was fordable in its lower course near Baglaghat (Bholahat)[109], which was the direct route of supply to Shujā's camp. Mirzā Beg advanced, at the head of 1,000 men of the imperial army, to cut off that route in order to stop supplies to the Shujāites.

Fidāī Khān, an important general of Shujā, was deputed to guard the passage at Sitalghat near Baglaghat at the head of 2,000 soldiers and the general

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108. Mīr Jumla's tricks; Ball. I. 275, 362; Storia. I. 337; Bernier (Const.). II. 83; Catrau. 264; FA. 47a; Muhammad Sultān's reaction at the sound of the drum; AN. 542; ZA. 103; AS. III. 328; Poem. 406-09, 427; Aurang. II. 600; Muhammad Sultān's return; AN. 544, 546; Poem. 407-09, 416-23, 427-34; ZA. 103-04; Storia. I. 337-38; Ball. I. 276; AS. III. 328; MA. 30, 33; Bernier (Const.). II. 83; ADM. 109b; Aurang. II. 600-01; EFIX. 388; SAR. 45; HLR. 83; E & D. VII. 251.

109. Both the AN and the Poem write that Baglaghat is 5 Kos from Malda but according to TS (P. 160b) it is 10/12 miles below Malda. Perhaps it is Bholahat (Bollehaut), 7 miles south of Malda, Rennell. Sh. 15.

with all his soldiers waited in ambush in the nearby jungle in order to fall suddenly on the enemy. When Mirzā Beg reached the jungle, Fidāī Khān started firing on the enemy. The attack of Fidāī Khān was so tremendous that even Mirzā's renowned soldiers of Qandahār could not stand and deserted Mirzā Beg. The Irānīan soldiers of Mirzā Beg killed some of the soldiers of Fidāī Khān but ultimately the latter won the battle. Being pressed by the Shujāites, the Irānīans also fled away when the enemy general was forced to retreat[110].

On February 27, 1660, Dilīr Khān, an imperial general, advanced at the head of 15,000 soldiers towards Baglaghat. When he advanced through a village on an elephant and reached Baglaghat, Fidāī Khān attacked him. Fidāī Khān with his army which was less than 1/7th of the enemy soldiers could not stand for a long time. Half of Fidāī Khān's soldiers were killed and the rest were captured and the entire stores were plundered. At that time a group of Shujāites under Buland Ākhtar and Sayyid Ālam were waiting on the other bank of the river. Fidāī at once sent a message to Buland Ākhtar but the latter failed to despatch any help. Buland Ākhtar at once sent a report to his father that "not a single person except Fidāī has been able to come back from the battle field", and Dilīr had captured his position. Shujā was shocked at this news and at once sent instruction to Buland Ākhtar to keep a strict watch over the enemy so that they might not cross over and "destroy my army and the country of Samdah", because the fall of Samdah would mean the annihilation of his army and the loss of his kingdom[111].

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110. Poem. 435-39; AN. 544-45.

111. Poem. 435-39, 446-54; AN. 545-47.

Shujā now concentrated his entire army in front of Samdah. Both his energy and resources were totally exhausted and he had no wise and determined general except Sayyid Ālam to stand by his side. On the other hand, the strength of the enemy was increasing day by day and the veteran generals of Aurangzeb with all their soldiers were sent against him. Taking opportunity of the concentration of Shujā's army near Samdah, Mīr Jumla made a detour to the more vulnerable eastern bank of the Mahananda, crossed it on February 29, and proceeded towards Malda on March 2. On March 6, he reached Mahmudābād, a few miles south of Malda where Dilīr Khān was encamped while on the other hand Buland Ākhtar was guarding the river[112].

The war now reached its final stage. At Mahmudābād a cross-river artillery duel continued between Shujā and Mīr Jumla. At the same time an imperial army under Dāūd Khān was searching for a passage to cross the Kalindi against Shujā's entrenchment. Shujā was trying hard anyhow to continue the war till the rainy season when he would be in advantageous position but the enemy were determined to finish it before that. Shujā with his artillery and flotilla frustrated all the attempts of the enemy to cross the river[113].

At last Dilīr Khān with the help of the local Rājā discovered an obscure and ill-guarded ford, about four miles below Baglaghat, and Mīr Jumla was at once informed. On April 5, at 3 A.M. Mīr Jumla at the head of 10/12 thousand troops started from Mahmudābād, picked up Dilīr Khān from Baglaghat and reached the ford at dawn. Shujā was not aware of the movement of Mīr Jumla and only a small body

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112. Poem. 459; AN. 547-48.

113. Mīr's exertion, AN. 548; Artillery duel : TS. 160a-b; Dāūd's search for passage to cross Kalindi; ZA. 103; Aurang. II. 601.

of his troops were posted there with a few guns. At the sight of the enemy, the Shujāites at once positioned their guns to resist the imperialists and immediately sent message to Buland Ākhtar and Sayyid Ālam. The advance party of the enemy marked with wooden pole the bed of the river where it was fordable. The enemy was frightened at the depth of the river and also by the bullets of Shujāites and was hesitating to proceed. Then Dilīr Khān and Aghar Khān took the lead and the former drove his elephant into the river. Next followed the son of Dilīr Khān on horse back; and soon all the imperialists threw themselves into the water in spite of constant firing of the Shujāites. The firing was so incessant and tremendous that the enemy could not even open their eyes and every bullet was killing a soldier. Due to the trampling by the horses and elephants the wooden poles, put up as sign-posts, were uprooted and the enemy lost their horses drowned in the ocean of death. In that tumult, the son of Dilīr Khān went under water and died along with his horse leaving no trace behind. The whole river had become red with blood and the entire sky was darkened by the smoke of firing. In spite of such a heavy firing gradually the enemy began to cross the river. Even the arrival of Buland Ākhtar and Sayyid Ālam could not stop the enemy from crossing the river. Buland Ākhtar finding it impossible to stand anymore, retreated with all his army to his family at Tanda. All his materials, cannon and rockets were captured by the enemy. This was the last great battle between the two forces and in this the enemy suffered enormous loss[114], though they came out victorious in the end. This battle was the final

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114. Fording of Mahananda : AN. 548-51; TS. 161a; Poem. 455-69; FA. 47a-b; MUI. 498; Aurang. II. 601-03; There are difference of opinion about the loss of the enemy soldiers, e.g., more than 1,000 (AN. 550); About 2,000 (TS. 161a); Nearly 3,000 men (ZA. 104); and about 3,500 (Poem. 469); Graphic Picture of the War; KK. II. 94-97. Trans : Mainul Haq in JPHS. XIII. Pt. II. 187-90.

stroke of the long-drawn war of succession. Buland Ākhtar fled straight to Tanda where Shujā's family was residing and Sayyid Ālam carried the sad news to his master at Chauki-Mirdadpur by noon. At that time Shujā was bombarding Dāūd who was on the opposite side and now he found himself surrounded on three sides and "there is no way except the river" to escape. Many of his soldiers deserted him considering Shujā's condition hopeless[115].

Shujā's retreat from Tanda to Dācca : The enemy was now on the right bank of the river Mahananda at a distance of eleven miles by road and the narrow brook of the Bhagirathi separated them from Tanda. Shujā had to take a quick decision, otherwise all his roads to retreat would be blocked. He hurriedly called Mirzā Jān Beg for consultation and the latter gave him the only advice - "you should cling to nothing here, but flee at once to avoid capture and save honour". So Shujā burnt his tents and after dusk started for Tanda where his family was staying[116].

At dawn of April 6, Shujā reached Tanda, alighted in a garden outside the city and immediately rushed into his harem. Then he ordered his begums to come at once "without waiting even to change their dress". He then under his personal supervision loaded his treasures in two strong boats (ghurabs) and a part of his stores and property in two others. He had given up the hope of the throne. So he dismissed most of his soldiers with a heavy heart asking them to join the imperial army. He informed them that he had decided to leave for Arakan

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115. AN. 552; ZA. 104; TS. 161b; Aurang. II. 603; Poem. 470-71.

116. Poem. 472; AN. 552; Aurang. II. 603; Jān Beg's advice : TS. 161b-62a.

and thence to go to Persia via Arabia and to seek the aid of the Shāh to recover the throne. He reached the river bank at 4 P.M. of the same day leaving behind Tanda for ever and embarked. He had with him, in his last journey, his two sons, his chiefs Mirzā Jān Beg, Sayyid Ālam of Barha, Sayyid Qulī Uzbeg and Mirzā Beg, a few soldiers, servants, and ennuchs, in total about 300, in 60 boats (Kusas). "This was the sole remnant of the splendid court amidst which he had ruled three provinces, and the vast army with which he had twice contested the throne of Delhi". All others except these left the unfortunate prince and went on their own way[117].

On the way to Dācca, at Tartipur[118] on the Ganga, Mīr Jumla attempted to cut off the way of retreat of Shujā and seized some loaded boats and then returned to Tanda. Shujā, however, escaped. At Tanda Shujā left treasure loaded on six elephants and twelve camels under the custody of an eunuch, Sandal, (the custodian of Shujā's Toshak-Khana) on the bank of the river for embarkation besides his other properties. But Shujā's soldiers deserted by his master, became very disorderly and plundered the unguarded property. "Men ran about in disorderly groups. Great tumult and confusion prevailed. Everyone plundered what they could lay hold of". This was the condition in Shujā's deserted camp at Tanda till the arrival of Mīr Jumla[119].

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117. Poem. 473-74; AN. 552; Aurang. II. 604; TS. 162a. According to the Poem Shujā decided to settle at Macca. Poem. P. 474.

118. "Tartipur is at the junction of the Ganga and the river Bogruthy, which flows east and south of Tarrah (Tanda)". Rannell. Sh. 15.

119. AN. 552; MU. 543; Aurang. II. 605.

Shujā, as we have seen, could not reach his eastern capital (Dācca) with all the men and treasure which he took with him. The imperialists hotly pursued him and intercepted him again and again. At Tartipur, the enemy captured his two treasure laden ghurabs. Lodi Khān, an imperial general, captured 30 boats of his flotilla, along with many officers and soldiers contained in those, at Sherpur and Hazrahati. One by one, many of his soldiers who had so long showed their unavailing devotion to this ruined man, now deserted and joined the imperial army. Some of his generals - Mīr Murtazā of the artillery, Ibu Husain of the flotilla, Zamān Khān, Sirajuddin, Isfandyār and Qasim Koka entered into the imperial service on April 9. After six days, on April 12, Shujā reached Dācca, "a bankrupt in fame and fortune". But neither the political condition of Dācca was in his favour, nor had he time for respite, as the imperial army under Mīr Jumla, Dilīr Khān, Dāūd Khān, Rashīd Khān and other great generals were hastily advancing to capture him[120].

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120. AN. 554-55; ZA. 104; Poem. 475-77; Bernier (Const.), 108-09; Jadunāth Sarkār stated at page 604 (Vol. II) that Shujā left Tanda for Dācca with his men and goods, loaded in 60 boats; at Page 606 (Vol. II) he mentioned that about 30 boats of Shujā were captured by the imperialists; but strangely, at Page 605 (Vol. II) he again stated that Mīr captured at Tartipur about 400 loaded boats of Shujā and the last statement is contradictory to his previous statements and seems incorrect. Aurang. II. 604-06.

CHAPTER IX.

THE END OF SHUJĀ

Shujā reached Jahāngīrnagar (Dācca) on 12th April, 1660, "a bankrupt in fame and fortune". Almost the entire country had passed out of his hands, his treasure was nearly exhausted and his army was reduced to 1,500 horses. With this nominal strength he could hardly dream of resisting the vast imperial forces surging forward relentlessly towards him. Moreover, the political condition of his eastern capital was most chaotic and dangerous; most of the local Zamīndārs, at this critical moment when the stars of Shujā were sinking, took up arms against him and Shujā's strength and energy were too exhausted even to chastise them. So Dācca was not at all a safe place for him and the sooner he left that place the safer. He, therefore, planned to abandon his beloved country for Arakan and thence with the help of the Aracanese to go to Persia via Arabia. As a Shia he expected to get all kind of help from the Shia King of Persia against his Sunni brother Aurangzeb which would enable him to recover the throne of Delhi. In that critical moment it was undoubtedly a wise plan, though it was not at all easy to carry it into effect. However, he sent a messenger to the pirate King of Arakan, Sanda Thudhamma, begging for shelter, and awaited the reply. But the swift approach of the chasing enemy left him no choice but to sail for Arakan[1].

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1. Storia. I. 370; Catrau. 272; Ball. I. 367; Bernier (Const.). II. 85; Careri. 229; Bowrey. 140; Phayre "History of Burma", 178; Aurang. II. 606; ZA. 104; Stewart "History of Bengal", 312; TF. 124.

Prince Shujā bade farewell to his eastern capital on May 6, 1660[2], with his wife, daughters, two sons, women of his harem, 200 faithful nobles and servants and a few boats loaded with riches of various kinds[3] and glided down from Dācca towards Dhapa, about 8 miles southwards. Next day he reached Sripur, but at every stage his soldiers and boatsmen deserted him in large numbers and even some of his faithful adherents did the same. On May 8, at a little distance from Sripur he met 51 Magh and Feringi (Portuguese) boats (Jalbas), who had come from Chittagong under the order of the Rājā of Arakan[4].

Next morning Shujā started from Lakhipur and halted at about 8 miles far from the fort of Bhalua[5]. Now he wanted to strengthen his position by occupying the fort and the suburbs of Bhalua and to use that place as his base to lead an expedition in future against the imperialists with the help of the King of Arakan. At that time Husain Beg and Imām Qulī were in charge of the fort of Bhalua. Shāh Shujā was able to win over Husain Beg but Imām Qulī declined to surrender. After long persuation and at the suggestion of Husain Beg, Imām Qulī agreed to meet Shujā. Shujā detained both of them and pressed them to surrender the fort. At the same time he despatched troops to capture

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2. EFIX. 388; MU. II. 197; Aurang. II. 606; MA. 18; AN. 483; Hodivale "Studies in Indian Muslim History", 274.

3. Bowrey. 141; Phayre "History of Burma", 178; Aurang. II. 606; Manucci mentions that about 250 most lovely ladies of Shujā's harem who never saw the face of other men, were mingled in one boat with the soldiers and boatsmen. This sight pained Shujā who ordered them to sink the boat along with the ladies. Storia. I. 370.

4. AN. 558-59; Aurang. II. 607.

5. Bulloah or Bhalua, 10 miles S.E. of Lakhipur. Aurang. II. 607.

the fort by force but the inmates of the fort bravely fought and repulsed them. When both persuasion and force failed to capture the fort, Shujā decided to capture it with the help of the Aracanese. But unfortunately the Aracanese not only declined to help him in that respect, but also forced him to release Husain Beg and Imām Qulī whom Shujā had treacherously arrested. The Magh general arrived from Chātgāon on May 11, with three more ships and found Shujā in a helpless condition. The Magh general declined to help Shujā in his plan to assault the fort of Bhalua. Thereupon an open quarrel broke out between Shujā and the Magh general when the latter frankly told that "our King had ordered us to help you in fight, if you had any chance of success or held a single fort. But you cannot take even Bhalua unaided. So you had better at once start in our ships for Arakan, or we shall leave you alone and return to our country". The cup of Shujā's misery was now full. As it was not possible for him to capture the fort of Bhalua without any help from the Arakanese, he was now forced to accept the terrible alternative and embark for Arakan[6].

Shujā's final decision to embark for Arakan in these circumstances created panic and consternation among the members of his hapless family and his followers. The notoriety of the piracy of the Arakanese of Chātgāon on the rivers of East Bengal was well-known to the people of Bengal. Their ravages and ferocity had depopulated the whole districts of Noakhali and Bakharganj even so late as 1680. "Their daring attacks, ferocious cruelty, uncouth appearance, barbarous manners, lack of religion and caste, and practice of eating unclean animals - all caused them to be regarded by the people of

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6. AN. 558-61; Aurang. II. 607-08.

East Bengal, Hindūs and Muslims alike, with a mixture of terror and loathing, to which history affords the only parallel in the Hun invasion of the Roman Empire and the Cossack raid into France after Leipzig". Arakan was considered by the people of Bengal as a mysterious country full of pestiferous jungles, separated by a perilous ocean from all the civilized lands, this naturally enhanced the fear of Shujā's party[7].

But Shujā had no alternative but to go there. Because the cruelty of the Arakanese was more welcome to him than that of Aurangzeb. The fate of his father and two brothers made him shun the idea of surrender. So it was better for him to die while trying his luck in a barbarous land than to surrender to his darvish brother.

So, on May 12, 1660, he finally left Bengal, where he had ruled for nearly twenty springs and had spent the golden years of his life. He sailed for Arakan with his family and forty of his faithful followers. These forty followers consisted of Sayyid Alam and ten Sayyids of Borah, Sayyid Qulī Uzbeg and ten Mughals and a few others including servants[8]. Shujā and his party were forced by the boisterous south-west wind to land near Chātgāon. He then crossed the river Naaf, separating Chātgāon from Arakan, on Portuguese boats commanded by Manoel Coelho and during the time of crossing the river, a part of his treasure was stolen by the Portuguese general. However, with great difficulty he crossed the river on June 3, 1660, near Dianga, a port on the river bank opposite to

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7. Tālish's continuation translated by Sir Sarkār in his studies. Aurang. II. 608-09.

8. AN. 561; Aurang. II. 610; MU. II. 197; MA. 18; Bowrey. 141; Phayre "History of Burma", 178.

Chātgāon. The party reached Mrohaung, the capital of Arakan on August 26, 1660[9].

Sultān Shujā and his men were accorded a warm reception by the King. Whatever was necessary for their subsistance was promptly provided with, in the name of the King[10]. Shujā then frankly disclosed his plan and requested the King of Arakan to supply some big boats which would be able to carry him to Arabia. Shujā would provide as much money as would be required for the purpose. Some months passed and then there arose favourable wind for the journey by sea, but there was no arrangement for ship in spite of repeated reminders[11]. The Rājā of Arakan grew very covetous of the riches of Shujā but as the latter was his guest he was hesitating to grasp[12]. Shujā's "great wealth was probably the cause of, or at least, very much contributing to his ruin"[13].

Suddenly the conduct of the Rājā towards Shujā unexpectedly changed. He became cold and reserved, and his servants no longer attended to the rites of hospitality. They were possibly won over by the threats or bribes of

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9. DR. 1661. P. 56; Storia. I. 370; JBRS. XXVI. 23-24; Catrau. 273; G E. Harvey, "History of Burma", 146; "Arakan Rajsabhaya Bangla Sahitya" Abdul Karim. 36, 47; EFIX. 273; HP. 7.

10. Bernier (Const.). II. 85; Storia. I. 370; TM. 58a; I.C. April 1937. P. 253; JBRS. XII. Pt. II. 107-08; Steward "History of Bengal", 314; I.C. 1906, P. 136. Dow. A. "A History of Hindūsthan", III. 327.

11. Careri. 230; Bernier (Const.). II. 85.

12. Bowrey. 141; Bernier (Const.). II. 85; REI. II. 27; I.C. April 1937, P. 253.

13. HLR. 109-10.

Mīr Jumla, the Mughal Viceroy of Bengal[14]. Since his arrival at Arakan, Shujā had never attended the Rājā in his court and now the Rājā insisted on his doing so. "But the prince, although a fugitive and in necessity, would not forsake his dignity, holding himself to be much greater than the King of Arakan. The latter could not compare in dignity, refinement or pleasant habits with even a simple captain among the Moguls"[15]. So instead of going himself personally to the court, he sent his son, Buland Ākhtar. Buland Ākhtar began to show liberality to the people, distributing among them a good quantity of half rupees, and whole rupees, of gold and silver. He then presented to the Raja with store of embroideries, and of rare pieces of goldsmith's set with precious stones of great value, excusing his father Sultān Shujā as being indisposed and beseaching him in his name that he would remember the pledge he made to the prince[16].

This visit made little or no effect upon the King of Arakan and failed to induce him to make any arrangement for boats. On the contrary, the attitude of the king further worsened and he was seeking an opportunity to create a conflict so that he could capture the entire treasure brought by Shujā and at the same time could secure a good amount by handing Shujā over to Mīr Jumla, thereby also freeing his country from the threat of Mughal attack by getting rid of his dangerous guest. Moreover, the Arakanese king, it is alleged, was enamoured of the beautiful daughters of Shujā whom he liked to have. So he thought of demanding the hands of one of Shujā's daughters. If his demand was

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14. Ibid. 110; AEI. II. 28; JBRS. XXI. Pt. I. 23; IC. April, 1937, P. 253; DR, letter dated 29.11.1660 from Hugli factors to Batavia; "Arakan Rajsabhaya Bangla Sahitya" by Abdul Karim. P. 41.

15. Storia. I. 374.

16. Bernier (Const.). II. 86; Storia. I. 374; HLR. 110.

rejected, he would press his other demands. Shujā's cup of misfortune was full to the brim when five or six days after this interview with Buland Ākhtar, the king demanded one of his daughters in marriage. For the last few days Shujā had been watching with horror the changed attitude of the Rājā towards him. So he was not so much surprised at such a demand as he was mortally wounded and greatly shocked. He was now in a great dilemma because he could neither return to Bengal nor go to Persia and it was not possible to continue to live in Arakan by offending the Rājā. Shujā was driven from his own country but even in that fallen condition was very much conscious that he was a Mughal Prince, son of Shāhjahān and elder brother of Aurangzeb. He was conscious of his dignity, status and position even in that fallen condition to which he had been reduced by fate. He could not even dream of such a relation with an idolatrous, barbarous king. So he summarily rejected the demand of the king knowing fully well what might be its repercussions[17].

The Rājā was highly offended at the summary rejection of his demand by Shujā. But as the people pitied the royal fugitives and as the prince did not openly commit any act of flagrant wrong, the Rājā dared not do any kind of injury to him. But the Rājā ordered him to leave the country at once and this order in the circumstances was a sufficient punishment for Shujā[18].

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17. Bernier (Const.). II. 86; Careri. 230; Bowrey. 14; HLR. 110-11; AEI. II. 28; IC. April 1937, P. 253. Stewart "History of Bengal", 314; A. P. Phayre "History of Burma", 179. According to Manucci (Storia. I. 374) and Catrau (P. 373) the Rājā proposed the marriage of his son with Shujā's daughter. Tavernier (Ball. P. 367) stated that Shujā gave his daughter in marriage to the Rājā, but he contradicts his first opinion by stating that the Rājā wanted to marry one daughter of Shujā after the murder of the prince (Ball. 369).

18. Bernier (Const.). II. 86; HLR. 110-11; AEI. II. 28; JBRS. XXVI. Pt. I. 23. Stewart "History of Bengal". 314. A. P. Phayre "History of Burma", 179.

It was quite impossible for Shujā to quit the country at that moment. The monsoon was now in full swing on the coast and the hills behind were impassable. But the Rājā was cold and unkind and sent a second order upon the said prince to quit the country and, at the same time forbidding the people to sell anything to his men[19]. Shujā sent his son to the king with a request for the suspension of his order for a few days; but that brought only added insult and distress. Now what could Shujā do in this desperate situation !

Although the King of Arakan was a Pagan, yet there were in his dominions large numbers of Muhammadans who had settled there or had been brought there as slaves of the foreigners. Sultān Shujā, attempted surreptitiously to win over these Muhammadans; and with his own men he resolved one day to fall, in a surprise move, upon the house of this barbarous king and to kill them all, and then proclaim himself as the King of Araken. This was a desperate enterprise, which only a desperate man could think of. Unfortunately, on the day just before the date of the projected coup, the plot leaked out which immediately led to the ultimate ruin of Shujā[20].

When this design became known, Shujā at once lost the sympathy of the people who were so long behind him. So driven to desperation, he set fire to the town and in the resulting chaos, along with his family and followers, attempted to take to flight with a view to escape and cross over to the Kingdom

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19. AEI. II. 28; Stewart "History of Bengal", 314.

20. AEI. II. 28; Careri. 230; Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 87; Ball. I. 368; Catrau. 273; Storia. I. 374; Aurang. II. 611; IC. 1937. P. 253; JBRS. XII. 108, XXVI. Pt. I. 23; HIR. 111; BPP. 1927. P. 143; Harvey "History of Burma", 146-47; Phayre "History of Burma", 179.

of Pegu on February 7, 1661. But the high mountain was impassable and the thick forests were full of wild animals. Moreover, the Arakanese chased him and attacked them from behind. Shujā defended himself with courage and determination and many Arakanese were slain; but at length, overpowered, by the increasing number of the enemy, he was compelled to give up the unequal combat. Buland Ākhtar fought like a lion, until he was covered with the blood of the wounds received from the stones that had been showered upon him from all sides and he was captured. Shujā's followers could not resist for a long time and they had to surrender to the overwhelming number of the Arakanese. All the members of the family of Shujā were arrested and were thrown into prison where they were mercilessly treated, without any consideration whatsoever[21].

There are diverse opinions and versions about the ultimate fate of Shujā, out of which the conclusion of Bernier seems correct and it is supported by other contemporary authorities. He remarks, "No other particulars, on which much dependence may be placed, are known of Sultān Sujāh. It is said that he reached the hills, accompanied by a eunuch, a woman, and two other persons; that he received a wound on the head from a stone, which brought him to the ground; that the eunuch having bound up the prince's head with his own turban he rose again, and escaped into the woods. I have heard three or four totally different accounts of the fate of the prince from those even who were on the spot. Some assured me that he was found among the slain, though it was difficult to recognise

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21. Careri. 230; Bowery. 142; Ball. I. 368; Bernier (Const.). II. 87, 89; Catrau. 273; Storia. I. 375; Aurang. II. 612; HIR. 112; DR. December 22, 1661. P. 520-21.

Date of Murder - EFIX. 388; Catrau. 274; Aurang. II. 612.

his body; and I have seen a letter from a person at the head of a factory which the Hollanders maintained in that region, mentioning the same thing. .... It seems that his sword and dagger were found soon after his defeat; and if he reached the woods, as some people pretended, it was scarcely to be hoped that he escaped; as it is probable he must have fallen into the hands of robbers, or have become a prey to the tigers or elephants which very greatly infested the forests of that country"[22]. So there is no doubt that he was either murdered on spot in the hands of the infuriated Arakanese or was killed in the forest by wild animals. After this event all the treasures of Shujā were seized and melted and kept in the strong-room of the palace of the Rajā of Arakan[23].

Almost all the Persian sources are silent about the end of the ill-fated prince. Kambū writing in 1671 states "up to this time none knows anything about Shujā's fate in Arakan. It is utterly unknown in what country he is and what he is doing, or whether he has been sent to the realm of the dead"[24]. Even sixty years later, Khāfī Khān was no better informed. He remarks, "In Arakan all traces of Shujā disappeared - none (in India) got any sign of him" and this was

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22. The death of Shujā in the first clash has been supported by Careri. 230; Bowrey. 142; Ball. I. 369; Bernier (Const.). II. 88; AEI. II. 29; DR. December 22, 1661. P. 520-21; and the same was confirmed by the register 1663 volume; "Arakan Rajsabha Bangla Sahitya" Abdul Karim. 12, 36, 47; JBRS. XXVI. Pt. I. 24; IC. 1937. P. 253; BPP. 1927. P. 143; Aurang. II. 611-12; HLR. 112, 114.

23. DR. December 22, 1661. P. 520-21; Harvey "History of Burma", 147; JBRS. XXVI. Pt. I. 24.

24. AS. III. 328; Aurang. II. 610.

supported by Sa'ādat Khān[25]. Emperor Aurangzeb came to know from the Dutch factory called 'Jantac' the disasters of Shujā in Arakan. He at once ordered grand funeral obsequies and gave alms "principally to those learned in the faith, praying them to supplicate God for that prince" who had died in Arakan a land 'Heathen and idolatrous'. A similar function was also performed in all the principal cities of the Empire, but this was not done by the Emperor with a clean heart. Manucci has rightly remarked that "the cunning fellow made these demonstrations of piety, not for his love to the deceased prince, but to make known to all the people that Shāh Shujā was dead. Thus they would, he hoped, accept him (Aurangzeb) as the absolute lord of the Mogul Empire"[26]. But in spite of this the people were doubtful about the fate of Shujā and as a result there were various rumours about him in the different parts of the country even long after the Arakan disaster.

A few years after Shujā's disappearance from the political platform of India, there was a rumour to the effect that he was living in the court of the Shāh of Persia from where he had come to Qandahār ready to enter into Kabul. Aurangzeb remarked with a smile that Sultān Shujā had at last become a 'hagi' or 'pilgrim'[27]. At the same time there was a contradictory rumour that Buland Ākhtar had appeared in different parts of India, and one such pretender was arrested near Allahābād in 1699[28]. Another rumour was that Shujā arrived at

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25. KK. II. 107; MD. III. 254a; Aurang. II. 610.

26. Storia. I. 377.

27. Bernier (Const.). II. 88; Careri. 230; EFI. X. 176; Storia. I. 377; HLR. 113.

28. MA. 405; Aurang. II. 611.

Maslipatan, to join with the King of Golkonda and Bījapūr[29]. Another time it was related for certain that he was seen in Sūrat with two ships, bearing red colours which the King of Pegu or the King of Siam had given him[30]. A Pathan soldier, who served in the army of Shujā, bore such resemblence to his master in countenance and figure, that they might, have been mistaken for one another. It is said that he had acquired his master's manners and deportment and it was not unnatural that the glimpses of his apparition had given rise to the report that Shujā was still alive. This Pathan revolted in 1673 and created a sensation all over North-western India. Many people gathered round him and they advanced unto the river Indus. Aurangzeb ordered the faujdār of that place to occupy the river bank and stop them crossing it. In a battle the false Shujā was defeated, but he was not daunted. He continued the enlistment of more men with the promise of high pay and great reward. Soon Aurangzeb strongly instructed Faridun Beg, the Governor of Hasan Abdal to suppress this revolt while the latter poisoned to death the false Shujā[31]. Another pretender headed a rising near Murang (Purnia) in 1669[32].

Soon after the incident of 7th February, the Rājā of Arakan married the eldest daughter of Shujā after which the other members of the family were favourably treated and allowed a little more liberty[33]. Poems were composed and songs sung on

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29. Careri. 230; Bernier (Const.). II. 88; HLR. 112-13.

30. Careri. 230.

31. Bernier (Ball). II. 88; EFIX. 287; Storia. I. 378; Aurang. II. 611; Orme. I. 63-64.

32. Aurang. II. 611; JBORS. XXXII. 59; Orme' IP. 50; JASB. XLII. Pt. I. 241.

33. Ball. Pt. II. 369; Bernier (Const.). II. 89; HLR. 114; IC. April 1937. P. 254.

the occasion of this marriage and these poems and songs secured an abiding place in Burmese literature[34]. Mīr Jumla, the Subedār of Bengal, made without success, various attempts through the Dutch factory to negotiate the surrender of Shujā's family[35].

Soon there was a dramatic change which brought about total extermination of Shujā's entire family. It has been stated that after the marriage of the Rājā with Shujā's daughter, the entire family was set at liberty. Buland Akhtar could not tolerate the humiliation and he was determined to take revenge at the earliest opportune moment. So after they got permission of free movement, he contacted the Mohammadans of the land and hatched another conspiracy against the Rājā[36]. On the appointed day before the appointed time, one of the conspirators, in a drunken mood, disclosed everything, which proved the utter undoing of Buland Akhtar and his family. The Rājā at once ordered the destruction of the entire family. Buland Akhtar and his brother was beheaded with blunt axes and the female members, including the wife of the Rājā, who was in advance stage of pregnancy, were starved to death[37]. The Dagh register, 1664 recorded this : "It is said that the sons of Shāh Shujā and every one found wearing a beard in the Moorish fashion had been beheaded as a result of an attempt by the princes

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34. Harvey, "History of Burma", 147; JBRS. XII. 108.

35. Trans. from Dagh Register. 1663, by Hall in JBRS. XVI. Pt. I. 25; JIHV. 375.

36. Careri. 230; Bernier (Const.). II. 89; Ball. I. 369; Storia. I. 376; DR.April 1664. Trans : in JBRS. XXVI. Pt. I. 26; HLR. 114; IC. April 1937. P. 254.

37. Storia. I. 376; Bernier (Const.). II. 89; Harvey, "History of Burma", 147; HLR. 114; JBRS. XXVI. Pt. I. 25-26; IC. April 1937. P. 254.

to set fire to the royal palace of Mrohaung in order to escape in the confusion"[38]. Daniel Six, who succeeded Gerritvan Voorburg as Chief of the Mrohaung factory, confirms this incident in a letter in April 1664. This perished the unfortunate prince Shujā, root and branch, a prince more loved in Bengal than any Mohammadan ruler had ever been. Soon the news of the brutal murder of all the members of Shujā's family reached Aurangzeb through the Dutch factors. He became very much infuriated and at once issued orders to Shaista Khān, the then Subedār of Bengal, for "attacking the King of Rakan, and punishing him for his cruelty of Sultān Sujāh and his family ..... to avenge the murder of those illustrious personages, and by a signal example, to teach his neighbours, that princes of the royal blood in all situations and under all circumstances must be treated with humanity and reverence"[39]. Accordingly, Shaista Khān led an expedition against Chittagong in 1666 which was subsequently conquered and annexed to the Mughal Empire. Beyond capturing Chātgāon Shaista Khān could not achieve anything against the King of Arakan by way of reprisal. The reasons possibly were that the Mughals had no naval force which was necessary for a successful expedition against Arakan and that old Shaista Khān was not equal to the task.

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38. Trans. from Dagh Register. 1664, by Hall in JBRS. XVI. Pt. I. 25-26.

39. Bernier (Const.). II. 134; Bowrey. 142; HLR. 179; Compos, J. J., "Portuguese in Bengal", 164.

CHAPTER X.

CHARACTER

Shujā as a Man :

Shujā was a kind-hearted and high-spirited prince. He was humane and generous in disposition, averse to cruelty but could not stand any opposition. He was an affectionate brother, faithful son, dutiful husband and a loving father. Unlike Dārā, he did not hesitate to risk his life to save Aurangzeb from the attack of an infuriated elephant during an elephant fight. His second march towards Agra in 1658 was not so much for capturing the throne as for releasing his aged father from the clutches of Aurangzeb. He loved his children all alike and, like Aurangzeb, he never suspected nor harshly treated his kith and kin. Even when Muhammad Sultān, the eldest son of Aurangzeb, being disgusted with his father's treatment, left the imperial camp and surrendered to his uncle, Shujā received the prince without any hesitation, placed him in a high position and gave him his daughter in marriage in fulfilment of his previous pledge. Again, when Muhammad Sultān found his uncle's fortune on the decline, he once more stole back to the imperial camp abandoning his wife, whereupon Shujā was rudely shocked and lamented thus : "A prince does not flee away, even if he is under a sharp sword; this does not befit a prince; if he wanted to go to his father why did he not inform me ? I myself would have arranged for his going ..... I think Sultān has fled because of fear of imprisonment at my hands, but why have I given my daughter to him ?"[1] This kind of broad-mindedness is rarely evident among the Mughal princes. The number of Shujā's wives never exceeded the

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1. Poem. 414-15.

permissible limit of Islāmic Law.

Shujā was a true copy of his beloved grand-father Jahāngīr with whom he had lived till the death of the Emperor and accession of Shāhjahān - "Sharp in intellect, indolent by nature, voluptuous in habits, he was every inch a prince in inward and outward graces"[2]. Among his brothers, Shujā stood between Dārā and Aurangzeb not only in age but also in mental development, tastes and predilections, a happy mean. As a skillful soldier and a level-headed politician with a fine touch of human sympathy, he was unparalleled among the sons of Shāhjahān. Shujā was a sensible, kind-hearted man with strong family affections and generous to all and sundry. In the administration of justice, he was strict and showed no partiality even to the man of position; but he had a natural tenderness for the unfortunate. "Shujā was just like Krīshna and kind like Hatīm. He charmed the world by his kindness and justice"[3]. He "was much of the humour of Dārā, but he was more close and more settled, and had better conduct and dexterity"[4]. Shujā never played false like Aurangzeb. He was more tranquil and reserved than his elder brother. He was generous to his friends, neither disdained to hear their advice nor followed them blindly without scrutiny. His generosity to his friends and followers was "equal to that of sun"[5].

Shujā was fond of pomp and magnificence and was addicted to wine and pleasures of the harem. But the warmth of his constitution did not make him

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2. Shelat. J. M. "Tragedy of Shāhjahān", 17.
3. DS. 51a.
4. Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 9.
5. E & D. VII. 198.

neglect the management of the important affairs of state. During his long administration of Bengal, he won the affection of his subjects by the softness of his manner. Though "a slave to wine and women", he was like the great 'Khalif-Al-Mansur', the true founder of the Abbasid Empire, who, when engaged in war, never looked upon the face of women till he had triumphed[6]. Unfortunately, his talents and all his qualities shone in flashes while his weaknesses clung to him more steadily and made his fate tragic.

Shujā as a Statesman :

Shujā had all the qualities required for a great statesman. He was kind-hearted, high-spirited, bold and enterprising[7]. In intelligence and foresight he was inferior to none. He marched against Delhi only when he heard that his father had either been murdered or been confined by Dārā; but when he got the correct information from Rājā Jai Singh, he, like an obedient son, wanted to abandon the idea of marching towards Agra. But he had immediately to give up the idea considering the progress of his two younger brothers from the south[8]. Again, when Shāhjahān was imprisoned by Aurangzeb, Shujā, though he apparently maintained good relation with Aurangzeb, marched towards Agra to release and re-install Shāhjahān[9]. Here lies the difference between Shujā and his two younger brothers— Shujā more anxious to restore his father's authority, while the latter were anxious only for the throne. Shujā proved his wonderful capacity

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6. Lanepoole "Aurangzeb", 24.

7. Catrau, 199.

8. Ibid. 214-15; Storia. I. 244-45; Poem. 30-32.

9. AN. 224; TS. 96a-97a; Aurang. II. 475; DGM. 35.

for administration by establishing peace and security in a disturbed Subah. His sagacity, impartial judgment, popular policy, reorganisation of the administration made him the most popular among the Mughal Governors of Bengal. "No prince was ever more loved than Shujā : misfortune and even death itself could not deprive him of his friends"[10]. Shujā patronised trade and commerce and gave encouragement to agriculture[11]. He possessed an unusual amount of diplomatic ability and it is evident in his relations with Delhi, as Governor, as well as with his brothers and others. He was a man of enormous capacity, indefatigable industry and had fine skill in administration and diplomacy. That Shujā had all the great qualities of leadership is also attested by the fact that his father Shāhjahān had twice summoned him from Bengal to lead the Qandahār expeditions in the north-west.

Shujā was not a scholar; nor had any taste for studies in theology like Dārā, but his attachment to 'Shiaism' was partly motivated by politics[12]. Though Bernier has stated that Shujā "was fit to manage an intrigue well, and he made underhand friends by the force of presents"[13], there is no denying the fact that in this regard he was no match for Aurangzeb. In military strategy he was really brilliant and in the battle field of Khajwa "Shujā's plan of battle was admirable"[14]. Shujā was a man of dignity and even in the days of his misfortune

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10. C. Steward "History of Bengal", 287, 318; Dow "History of Hindūstan", III. 217-18.

11. PIHC. XI. 140-41.

12. JPHS. April 1960. P. 107.

13. Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 9; HLR. 7.

14. Aurang. II. 495.

in an alien land, he did not forget his position and status and did not hesitate to maintain them even at the risk of the honour of his family. At Arakan Shujā would not visit the court of the King of Arakan as it was beneath his dignity and summarily rejected the marriage proposal of the Arakan King with his daughter, though he knew well the consequences[15]. So it can be safely concluded that Shujā was every inch a Mughal prince conscious of his great heritage, and even the greatest misfortune encompassing him either in his own country or in alien land could not subdue him and make him forget his position and dignity.

Shujā as an Administrator :

As an administrator Shujā proved his capacity beyond doubt. He was appointed as Governor of Bengal in the month of April 1639[16], and remained in that position till he was chased away in a relentless persuit by Mīr Jumla in May 1660. During the long period of his rule he showed ability and efficiency, courage and initiative, impartiality and judgment, kindness and sympathy, industry and far-sightedness, as a result of which Bengal enjoyed a long spell of prosperity and peace.

Before his arrival as the Governor of Bengal the political and social conditions of Bengal were far from satisfactory. The province, as we have seen, was in a state of chaos and confusion due to administrative break-down and lack of any central authority. The appointment of Shujā had a magic effect and he, by his ability, brought back peace and order and, in the end, prosperity.

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15. Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 86; Careri. 230; Bowrey.14; HLR. 110-11; IC. April 1937, P. 253.

16. ZA. 10; Poem. 14; KT. 487; EFIX. 2; Careri. 222.

"During his twenty years rule, Bengal enjoyed undisturbed peace, mainly because the Subahdār being the Mughal prince, had awed potential rebels into submission and prevented his jealous rival from obstructing him or intriguing at court for his over throw. This peace led to the growth of wealth and trade and industry rapidly prospered in Bengal, especially the commerce of the Dutch and (to a much lesser extent that of the English) East India Companies"[17].

Shujā was not only a good planner but was equally efficient and zealous in the execution of his plans. The administration "was very well conducted by a number of highly cultured and efficient Persian Officers, many of them immigrants through the port of Hugli, whom he gathered round him and cherished by honourable treatment"[18]. He took various steps for the improvement of agriculture and undertook certain irrigation reforms. He encouraged the peasants to produce more and made their life and property secure from the raids of the Aracanese and Portuguese pirates and the torture of the local Zamīndārs and Government employees[19]. In the administration of justice he maintained strict neutrality irrespective of caste and creed, social status and wealth. He ungrudgingly encouraged industry, trade and commerce and during his time Bengal's overseas trade rose in volume. He was interested also in revenue affairs. During the first half of his administration in Bengal, he extended the border of the province by conquests and annexations. As we have seen, he re-assessed the entire province including the newly acquired portions, fixed new rates of revenue and this greatly augmented his treasures.

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17. Aurang. V. 296.

18. Ibid.

19. PIHC. XI. 140.

At the beginning though he had to face tremendous difficulties but, by virtue of his industry and efficiency, he within a short time, he overcame all the difficulties and was able to establish peace and security which lasted till the outbreak of the Civil War. But it may be noted that the expansion of industry, trade and commerce increased the state income no doubt, but the absence of war and war-like activities had on the other hand, the contrary effect of somewhat undermining the military efficiency of his army. "The army lost its efficiency through long peace and the navy (nawwara) so necessary for the defence of the Bengal delta, at last fell into decay and dispair through official parsimony or peculation"[20]. The sudden increase of wealth fired Shujā's ambition and he began to aspire for the throne of Delhi. He possessed the needed qualities well; but he was handicapped because his "health was impaired by his twenty years' residence in Bengal; a peaceful life, constant devotion to pleasure, and the easy administration of a soft province like Bengal made him weak, indolent, incapable of sustained effort or vigorous action"[21]. Long leisure and wealth and the soothing climate of Bengal made him "too much a slave to his pleasures; and once surrounded by women, who were exceedingly numerous, he would pass whole days and nights in dancing, singing and drinking wine"[22]. But that did not wholly prevent him from taking care of his administration. Acting on the instructions of the Emperor, he periodically visited the various parts of the province and sent reports regularly to the

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20. Ibid. 296-97.

21. Ibid. 297.

22. HLR. 7.

imperial court stating the conditions of the province[23].

Like his father, Shujā was a patron of art and architecture and part of his wealth he spent on the erection of buildings and other edifices which not only survived the ravages of time but also made his name famous. His zeal for architecture and varied tastes, in spite of limited resources, are in evidence in the works of "Barakatra", "Churihatta Mosque", "Great Idgah", etc. and also in the palace he built at Rājmahal.

Shujā's Religious Views :

It has been noticed earlier that in his childhood Shujā was with Jahāngīr and that as a result the prince was greatly influenced specially in religious outlook by his old grandfather. On the whole, Shujā was liberal in matters of religion, though possibly not so liberal as Akbar. He indulged not only in the world of thought like Dārā or in the field of action like Aurangzeb; but he stood between the two. There was no dogmatism in his religious policy and he never especially advocated or condemned any religion. Like his grandfather, Shujā's religious policy was marked by tolerance. During his long tenure of office in Bengal, Hindūs, Muslims, Christians, all lived in peace side by side and followed their religion without any interference from the state. He neither tolerated any interference on other's religion nor supported directly or indirectly preaching of any particular dogma. As a result, he had no strong supporter either among the Hindūs, as Dārā had, or among the orthodox muslims as Aurangzeb had. Though Aurangzeb called Shujā a "heretic"[24], he was

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23. PIHC. XI. 141.

24. Storia. I. 248.

not an atheist, and he "declared himself of the religion of the Persians, though his father and brothers professed that of the Turks"[25]. According to many, Shujā's religious policy was politically motivated and Bernier has clearly stated that "When he avowed himself one of the latter sect (chias), Sultān Shujā evidently actuated by motives of policy; for as the Persians were in possession of the most important offices in the kingdom, and exercised the largest share of influence at the court of the Mogol, he hoped thus to secure interest and support whenever the tide of events should render them necessary"[26]. This statement of Bernier appears to be borne out by the fact that a good number of the officers of Shujā, both civil and military, were Shia. After the defeat in the battle field of Sāmūgarh, when Dārā was a spent force, his Shia followers leaned towards Shujā, surrendered the forts in their control and even many joined in his army[27]. Even after his defeat at the hands of Mīr Jumla, he started correspondence with the Persian Shāh for help and left for Arakan in order to reach Persia with the help of the Rājā of Arakan[28]. But his religious policy did not prevent him from securing the followers of other sects or religion as it is proved by the list of his generals and military officers[29]. His religious policy was neither passive like that of Murād, nor so active like that of Dārā or Aurangzeb. "The mystic[30] counted Shujā amongst his devotees and he often used to visit his Pir

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25. HIT. 8.

26. Ibid. 8-9.

27. JPHS. April, 1960. P. 107.

28. Storia. I. 370; Catrau. 272; Ball. I. 367; Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 85; Careri. 229; Bewrey. 140.

29. PIHC. 1960. Pt. I. 254.

30. Sayyid Niʿmatullā of Narnaul.

to gain spiritual enlightenment from him"[31]. Again, Shujā favoured Fakir Janab Shāh Sultān Hasan Muria Burhana[32], Maulana Muhammad Salam, son of Maulana Shalo Baz Muhammad[33] and made arrangements for the maintenance of the tombs of Niamatulla who was buried at Firozpur[34] and of Kalapahar who lay buried in the village of Mathurapur, Pargana Rohtās[35].

In religious matters Shujā wisely followed a middle path between the two extreme policies of Dārā and Aurangzeb. The history of India teaches that no extreme religious policy is suitable in India, inhabited by a mass of people professing diverse faiths. Dārā's fall was mainly due to his religious policy which was considered as pro-Hindū and anti-Islām. Aurangzeb's policy of 'Pan-Islāmism and intolerance of other religion buried along with him the Mughal Empire in India. Though Shujā failed to come to the top in the scrumble for power and had to die a tragic death, his religious policy characterised by liberalism and non-interferences and yet essentially Islāmic, was far more suitable for India and Shujā, with his broad-minded, liberal policy might have been a more successful emperor than Aurangzeb, had providence placed him on the throne of Delhi.

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31. JPHS. April, 1960. P. 107.

32. DGWD. 49.

33. BPP. XLIX. 132.

34. DGM. 91.

35. K. K. Datta "Some Farmāns, Sanads etc.". 71.

Shujā as a Diplomat :

Shujā was neither extraordinary in intellect like Akbar nor a Machiavellian like Aurangzeb. But in diplomacy he was not a failure like Dārā or Murād. He had his friends in the imperial court, shrewdly maintained good relations with his father and the younger brothers. But he was a man of principles and mere selfishness could not supersede his good qualities. Duplicity and opportunism which are the key principles of Machiavellian policy and essential for success in unscrupulous politics, were hated by Shujā.

Shujā's relation with Delhi was cordial up to 1652 after which it became strained owing to various reasons and it took a critical turn at the end of 1657 when Shāhjahān fell seriously ill suddenly and Dārā started misbehaving. Up to the middle of 1657 he maintained good relation with the Emperor. He always followed the instructions of the Emperor regarding administrative affairs and periodically dispatched reports to the imperial court stating the affairs of the Subah. The climate of Bengal neither suited him nor his family and so he humbly asked for part of Bihār as his headquarters but Shāhjahān did not concede the request[36]. Shujā was offered the viceroyalty of Balkh, Badakhshan and Transoxiana, but as he was unwilling to accept the offer, he cleverly evaded it, though eloquently condemning any reluctance to carry out the Emperor's order. He replied to the Emperor in the following words : "Whatever work shall be entrusted to me, I shall exert to the utmost for its accomplishment and through the good fortune of your Majesty Transoxiana and Khurasan

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36. PIHC. XI. 140; RA. 339-41.

which were the hereditary domain of our illustrious house, may come back to your Majesty's possession. What unwillingness can there be in carrying out your Majesty's command ?"[37]

When Shujā and Aurangzeb made a coalition against Dārā and promised to cement this relation by matrimonial alliance, Shāhjahān was highly offended, charged Aurangzeb with designs against Dārā and planned to dissociate Shujā from this alliance. The Emperor decided to remove Aurangzeb from the Deccan on the ground of his misrule and proposed to place Shujā there[38]. But Shujā cleverly evaded the question and avoided probable conflict with his new ally. His relation with the central authority took the most critical turn when Dārā controlled power during the illness of Shāhjahān which ultimately led to the civil war for the throne. Like his two younger brothers, Shujā was always suspicious of Dārā who often interfered in their administration and deprived them from their father's favour. So "he maintained emissaries at the court of his father, for the purpose of discovering all his secrets. He kept spies about his brother Dārā, who gave him intelligence of all his movements; and who debauched his best officers, and the most expert gunners of his army. Shāh Shujā had a secret understanding with the Rājās of the Empire"[39].

Shujā's relation with his brothers excepting Dārā were rather happy, but they were ultimately vitiated by the clash of interests for the throne. Dārā enjoyed too many privileges and the blind love of his father for him made him an object of common hatred of his younger brothers who formed a

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37. PIHC. XI. 141; RA. 332; FQ. 17.

38. Aurang. I. 180; Ādāb. 28a, 32a.

39. Catrau. 199.

coalition against him. Shujā was always loyal to the terms and conditions of the coalition while Aurangzeb was not to be trusted. But Shujā was not a fool like Murād to fall an easy victim to the designing Aurangzeb. He apparently accepted Aurangzeb's offer of Bihār after the war of Sāmūgarh[40] but secretly prepared to march upon Agra to release Shāhjahān and to reinstate him during Aurangzeb's absence.

Shujā's relations with Persia and Arakan were quite friendly. By motive or by temperament he followed Shiaism and maintained friendly relation with the Shāh of Persia. By his faith, he wanted to attract efficient officers to his service and to influence the important imperial officers. Again, speculating on a future war [redacted] for the throne, he wanted to utilise the power and influence of the Shāh of that time[41]. Even after his final defeat by Mīr Jumla, he planned to go to Persia and then to recover the throne with the help of the Shāh[42]. This was, no doubt, good diplomacy but he was not lucky for he failed to reach Persia.

Shujā's relation with Arakan at the end of his rule marked a great improvement, there having been no clash or raid between Bengal and Arakan. The King of Arakan gave asylum to this unfortunate prince in his ruined stage. When Shujā reached Arakan, he was given a grand reception and all arrangements were made for his comfort. But his good fortune soon disappeared and, by an irony of fate, he fell a victim to the wrath of the King of Arakan.

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40. RA. 261, 296.

41. Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 10; Catrau. 199.

42. Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 85; Catrau. 272; Storia. I. 370; Ball, II. 367; Careri. 229; Bowrey. 140.

Shujā as a General :

As a General, Shujā compares most favourably with his three other brothers. His military ability should not be judged by his expedition to Parenda, because at that time he was merely a boy of sixteen and was only the nominal head of the expedition under Mahābat Khān, and it was due to the fault of Mahābat Khān that the expedition ended in fiasco. Shujā proved his military calibre against the Assamese and the Arakanese and by subduing the Portuguese pirates, capturing parts of Tripura and by suppressing Bahādur Khān, the Zamīndār of Hijili[43].

In the first civil war at Bahādurpūr there was practically no battle fought at all; Sulaimān, contrary to the agreement, made a surprise attack when Shujā was unprepared and overwhelmed him. But there is no doubt that Shujā committed a blunder by placing absolute reliance on the imperialists and thereby discarding vigilance altogether. He would have been well-advised to be more cautious in the field of battle to avoid being fooled by the enemy.

Shujā was not however daunted by his defeat at Bahādurpūr and with fresh energy he undertook preparations for a second march. In the battle of Khajwa, though he was ultimately defeated, he showed the brilliance of his generalship with an army inferior to his rival both in quantity and quality. "Review the battle (of Shujā with Aurangzeb at Khajwa), we must give the palm of generalship to Shujā ..... Shujā's plan of battle was admirable"[44].

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43. War against Tripura. BPP. 1960. P. 1; Relation with Assam. PIHC.XI. 140; SAR. 185; JASB. 1907. III. 423; Sudued Bahādur Khān. PIHRC. XXXIII. 19; MH. 130.

44. Aurang. II. 495.

Shujā, by his valour and determination, cornered Aurangzeb, and the latter failing to face the tremendous attack, was about to precipitate a crisis by dismounting from his elephant but was saved by Mīr Jumla[45]. Strangely enough Shujā invited his own defeat by himself getting down from his elephant, being misinformed and misdirected by his general. The treachery which ruined Dārā in the battle field of Sāmūgarh, also did the same to Shujā at Khajwa, and he failed to learn the lesson of the defeat of Dārā.

During the retreat from Khajwa, Shujā realised that it was impossible to face the enemy on land and so he determined to recover his power and position by naval war. With his navy he harassed the enemy and many a time threatened their security and position. By a tactful blocade Shujā created famine in his lost capital, Rājmahal, and forced the enemy to surrender[46]. The constant flow of imperial reinforcements both in men and money could not dampen the spirit and courage of Shujā in spite of his continuously dwindling strength. Shujā faced the enemy on two fronts with gallantry which even surprised the enemy. Dāūd Khān in a letter to Mīr Jumla stated in praise of the Shujāites, "the enemy was firm; there were murchals on both sides of the enemy, stronger than rock....."[47].

The successive defeats of Shujā in the circumstances shock his spirit and he repented in a letter to Fidāī Khān that his "plans have not been successful; I think there has been a turn in the tide of my fortune, and I will suffer defeat;

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45. Storia. I. 332.

46. TS. 126a-131a; Poem. 201; ZA. 98; EFIX. 289; AN. 515-16; Aurang. II. 590.

47. Poem. 233.

and the enemy will take my crown and throne; further fight against Aurangzeb whom God has made Emperor is unavailing"[48]. But he was neither frightened nor ready to surrender to Providence and determined to face the enemy and to "see whom Heaven pleases, subdues and drowns in blood"[49]. Shujā was really a hero and he preferred to die a heroic death in the battle field and not to fly like a coward[50]. Ultimately he was totally defeated and driven away from his mother-land. But he was defeated not for his personal weakness but for the ever-increasing power of the enemy coupled with the ever-dwindling of his own : "In battle he was brave; nor was he destitute of the talents necessary for a general; and we must attribute his misfortunes in the field to the effeminacy of his troops, more than to his own want of conduct"[51].

Conclusion :

In spite of his sterling qualities, Shujā's weaknesses though few, became very much glaring due to his failure and discomfiture in politics. His greatest weakness was too much indulgence in pleasure and immoral vices[52]. Although he was too much addicted to pleasures of the harem, he was not unmindful of the administration of the Subah nor did it hamper his sense of justice. Addiction to women and wine during that age, specially in the upper rank of the society was neither abnormal nor considered sinful in the eyes of morality and

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48. Ibid. 235.

49. Ibid. 236.

50. TS. 135a.

51. Dow "History of Hindūstan". III. 218.

52. Bernier (Const.). Pt. II. 9.

law. Shujā was not an exception and he "followed the habits of his father, being a lover of songs, dances, and women, among whom he spent days without giving audience, drinking wine to excess and spending a great deal of money on dancing women. ....."[53].

During his long tenure of office in Bengal, Shujā became too easy-going and this was very natural. But he was not so from the very beginning nor was he so during the war of succession. The peaceful and undisturbed administration, plenty of money and want of enterprise and the pestilential climate made him idle, slackened his administration and weakened the spirit of his soldiers. "His health had been impaired by the pestilential climate of Bengal, and he already felt the touch of age, though only forty-one. His mental powers were as keen as before; but they required the great emergencies to call them forth, and shown only by flashes; he was still capable of vigorous action, but only fitfully"[54]. As a result, Bengal the nursery of his ambition, became also the grave of his vitality.

Shujā's failure in the struggle for the throne was not due to any poverty in qualities required of a ruler, but because fortune systematically disfavoured him and his defects were magnified. Secondly, Aurangzeb was in an advantageous position by his occupation of the central authority. Thirdly, Aurangzeb, on his accession, had more efficient generals, more soldiers and plenty of money in the imperial coffers which were sadly lacked by Shujā. Finally, Shujā was lacking in determination and the capacity for sustained

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53. Storia. I. 227.

54. Aurang. II. 466.

effort, all of which his younger brother Aurangzeb possessed in a large measure and therefore, Aurangzeb, eventually came to top in the fratricidal war.

Shujā failed to achieve his end. And yet his was not an inglorious failure, for he was not forgotten by the people even after his disappearance from the political platform of India. His activities and personal qualities earned him the respect of the people and won their hearts. He was betrayed by many of his friends and followers but not by the people. So he lamented "My tears are for my fate; there is no one to help me. Even he whom I benefit turns to my foe"[55]. But he had the great consolation that the people for whom he worked, did not forget him. "Misfortune, and even death itself could not deprive him of all his friends; and though his fate was not known in Hindūstan for some years after his death, when it was heard, it filled every eye with tears"[56]. When the sad end of Shujā and his family was conveyed to Shāhjahān, he exclaimed : "Could not the cursed infidel have left one son of Shujā alive, to avenge the wrongs of his grandfather ?"[57]

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55. Poem. 415.

56. Dow "History of Hindūstan". III. 332.

57. C. Steward "History of Bengal". 318.

APPENDIX

-1-

Copy of a nishan from Sultān Shujā dated in the month of Dai in the twenty second year, A.H. 1059. (E.F.I. Vol. X. P. 413-14) "Make known to all officials, and to the guards of the Imperial high ways between His Highness's residence and Agra and the port of Sūrat, that Captain Gabriel Boughton, the English physician, is going to those parts to purchase goods for His Highness. Enjoins them to be very attentive to him, to provide him with escort, and not to delay him or molest him for duties".

-2-

Copy of a nishan from Sultān Shujā, dated 6 Ramzān in the twenty fifth year, A.H. 1061 (August 13, 1651) (E.F.I. Vol. X. P. 415) "It has been represented to His Highness that the goods of the English Company are by an Imperial farmān exempt from duties, but that nevertheless the Mutasaddis of Balasore and other ports of Orissa molest the merchants on that account, hindering them from buying and selling, and giving them trouble on the roads His Highness now orders that none of the officials shall demand any duties from them, either at the ports or on the roads, nor obstruct them in any way".

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Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī :

It is a memoir of Emperor Jahāngīr and it is valuable not only as a historical document but also as a literature. Jahāngīr himself wrote it up to the end of the 17th year of his reign and during his illness in the 18th and 19th years, the account was recorded by Mutamid Khān. In this book we get details about Prince Shujā's birth, illness and accident in childhood and the old Emperor's affection for his grandson. Trans : Beveridge, London, 1909 and price, London, 1829.

Pādshāhnāma by Aminai Qazvīnī : (Buhar Persian MS No. 69) :

Qazvīnī was an official historian of Shāhjahān's reign. Though the exact date of his arrival in India is not known, he entered the imperial service in the 5th year of Shāhjahān's reign. He worked in that position till he completed the history of the first ten years of Shāhjahān's reign when he was removed from service on account of the jealousy of his rivals. In this book Qazvīnī has given details about Shujā's marriage and the prince's expedition to Parenda.

Pādshāhnāma by Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī : (BiB. Ind. Cal. 1866-72) :

Abdul Hamīd Lāhorī was appointed as the Court historian in his old age and was a follower of Abdul Fazl School. His Pādshāhnāma covers the first twenty years of Shāhjahān's reign which Lāhorī completed on November 9, 1648. Lāhorī died on August 30, 1654. The writer vainly attempted to follow the style of Abdul Fazl and in writing the history of the first ten years he in most cases repeated

Qazvīnī : The history from the 11th to 20th year is unique and original. This book is valuable for vivid description of all the events of Shujā's life up to 32 year of his age, specially his birth, expedition to Parenda and Qandahār, his marriage and his subedarship of Bengal and Orissa.

Pādshāhnāma by Wāris : (Buhar Persian MS No. 75) :

Lāhorī could not write a complete history of Shāhjahān's reign because of his old age and this work was, therefore, entrusted to his pupil Md. Wāris. Md. Wāris recorded the events of the rest of Shāhjahān's reign, though his work suffers from certain defects. In this book valuable information about Shujā's expedition to Kabul and Qandahār in 1647-48 and in 1652, his administration of Bengal, etc. are available.

Kulakhkhas by Md. Tāhir Ashnā : (Khudabakshash. O.P. Library, Persian MS No.123 :

This book is also known as the Shāhjahān-nāma. It is a complete history of Shāhjahān to the 30th year of his reign. Though the writer held a high position in the imperial service and obtained independent information from reliable sources, he provides nothing original. He was a copyist, pure and simple. He mainly followed Qazvīnī, Lāhorī, and others. In spite of this he was refined and his style was lucid and his work is no less valuable from an historical point of view. The writer has mentioned, though not critically, almost all the events of Shujā's life from his birth to his defeat at the battle of Khajwa.

Amal-i-Sālih by Md. Sālih Kanbū : (BiB. Ind. Cal. 1912):

Kambū was the assistant of Shaikh Makhdum Munshi, Chief Sadr. This is a detailed history of Shāhjahān's reign which he completed in 1659 A.D. with

subsequent addition till 1671 A.D. Like Lāhorī's Pādshāhnāma, this is also an important source of Shāhjahān's reign. Here the writer has given a graphic description of Shujā's marriage, his expedition to Parenda, Kabul and Qandahār, the administration of Bengal, the war of succession etc. But the author does not seem to have been aware of the tragic end of Shujā at Arakan even in the year 1669 A.D. as he has remarked "till now (i.e., 1669) no trace of him is to be found".

Futūhāt-i-Ālamgīrī by Iswardās Nāgar : (J. N. Sarkār collection No. 119) :

Iswardās was a Nagār Brahman of Patan in Gujrāt and this is a record of Aurangzeb's reign from his rise to power to the 34th year. The writer completed it in the year 1730 A.D. The book is divided into seven chapters, of which the first three chapters are relevant for our purpose. In these chapters the writer deals with Shāhjahān's illness, war among his sons, defeat of Shujā in the hand of Mīr Jumla and his taking refuge in the Court of Arakan.

Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh by Sujān Rāi Khattrī : (J. N. Sarkār collection No.187) :

He was a resident of Patiala in the Punjab. From childhood he was acting as munshi to high government officers and in this work he has given a summary of the reigns of various kings to the reign of Aurangzeb and for this he has named it Khulāsat. In this book the author is a little detailed in stating the war of succession from its origin to the battle of Khajwa. The work ends with Dārā's flight from Sind towards Gujrāt.

Ālamgīrnāma by Munshi Mirzā Muhammad : (Bib. Ind. Cal. 1865-73) :

He was the son of Muhammad Amin Qazvīnī (1668). This is the official history of the first ten years of Aurangzeb's reign. In this work the writer

appears to be thorough about the war of succession specially Aurangzeb's war with Shujā. But he seems to be partial towards his patron, Aurangzeb, and to satisfy the latter he always pronounced the name of Shujā in twisted form as "na-Shujā" (not valiant) and, in many cases, has given distorted information. He always appreciated and exaggerated Aurangzeb and discredited the Emperor's rivals.

Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī by Muhammad Saqi Musta'd Khān : (1657-1707) :

Translated by Sir J. N. Sarkār, Calcutta, 1947. This work was completed in the year 1710-11 and it is a complete history of Aurangzeb's reign. The history of the first ten years abridged from Ālamgīrnāma, so there is nothing new and has no special value so far as Shujā's career is concerned.

Tarīkh-i-Shāh Shujā by Mīr Muhammad Masūm bin Hasan bin Saleh : (Sir J.N. Sarkār collection, copy of India Office, Persian MS. No. 533) :

He was an old servant of Shujā. This mainly deals with the war of succession and has an elaborate and graphic description of Shujā's war with Aurangzeb, Mīr Jumla, Dāūd Khān and the famine of Rājmahal but abruptly ends on 18th April, 1660. Though Masūm was an old servant of Shujā he was yet an admirer of Aurangzeb, was full of sympathy for Dārā and, unlike Mirzā Md. Kazim, he even did not hesitate to criticise Shujā.

Tarīkh-i-Mufazzali by Sayyid Mufazzal Khān :

It is a narrative from the creation to 1666 A.D. The work is divided into seven Makalas or sections, the sixth and the seventh of which are devoted to India. It refers to the war of succession in detail. Partially translated by Elliot and Dawson in Vol. VII.

Aurangnama : (Sir J.N. Sarkār's transcript of Hyderabad Asafiza public library, Tarikh No. 603) :

"Haqiri" a Rozbihani follower of Mīr Jumla has written the history of the war of succession in verse. It was compiled in 1661 and has much historical importance. No writer is so elaborate and graphic in describing the wars of Shujā with Mīr Jumla and Dāūd Khān from the battle of Khajwa till the prince took shelter in the Court of the King of Arakan. Though the writer was a follower of Mīr Jumla, he, like Masūm, was all along impartial in describing the facts.

Chahār Gulshan :(Trans. J. N. Sarkār in "India of Aurangzeb") :

This book, which is also known as Akbaru-i-Nawadir (account of rare things) was composed by Rāi Chatār Mān Kayath in the year 1173 A.H. (1759 A.D.), the last sheet being finished only a week before his death. As it was left in a disconnected shape, it was later on arranged and edited, after his death by his grandson Rāi Bhan Rāi Rāizada in 1789. It is mainly a description with the statistics of several provinces including the Suba Bengal and Orissa and the lives of holy men.

✓Fathiyya-i-ibriyya or Tarīkh-i-Mulk-i-Assam by Ibu Muhammad Wali Ahmad entitled Shihab-ud-din Tālish :

It was completed in May 1663 (ASB. MG) and the value of the work discussed by Sir J. N. Sarkār in JBORSI, P. 179-89; and BPP, XXIX, 1925, P. 7 and Blockmann published an abstract of the book in JASB, 1872, Pp. 63-96. In it the relation of Bengal with Assam and Cooch Bihār, description of the Aracanese Maghs and the terror created by them in lower Bengal have been clearly discussed.

Mirāt-i-Ālam : (Buhar Persian MS. No. 11) :

Rieu ascribes this work to Bakhtawar Khān but Ethe (I.O.L. Cal. P. 47) refutes the statement and established that it was written by Shaykh Md. Baqā. Elliot and Dowson (Vol. VII) solve this controversy by stating that Md. Baqā wrote the work at the request and in the name of his intimate friend Bakhtawar Khān but left it incomplete. It is a general history from earliest times to 1667-68. "The Mirāt-ut-Ālam is an extremely useful and trustworthy compendium of eastern history and biography" (Rieu. P. 126). The history of Shāhjahān's reign is stated in summary fashion and most of the events of Shujā's life are briefly mentioned here.

Mirāt-i-Jahānnūma : (Buhar Persian MS. No. 13)
by Muhammad Shafi

He was the son of the sister of Md. Baqā and he tells us in the preface that Md. Baqā had left several sheets of an historical work incomplete, ill-arranged and requiring revision. After putting them into shape and after rectifying certain defects, he completed and renamed it the Mirāt-i-Jahānnūma. It is identical in chapters with the Mirāt-i-Ālam. Md. Riza, another brother of Md. Baqā edited another Mirāt-i-Jahānnūma from the loose leaves left by the latter. The Mirāt-i-Jahānnūma of Md. Shafi was completed in 1686 A.D. It is a rare general history of the world and also an enlarged version of the Mirāt-i-Ālam. The history of Shāhjahān's reign is dealt with here in six chapters in summary fashion. So most of the events of Shujā's life are mentioned and the war of succession has been discussed in more detail. The author also mentions the persons who accompanied Shujā while he fled to Arakan.

Zafarnāma-i-Ālamgīrī : (J. N. Sarkār collection No. 58) :

Also known as Aurangnama, Waqiat or Halat-i-Ālamgīrī-[redacted]. It was written by Mirzā Askari (Aqil khān Razi) who was Governor of Delhi at the time of his death, 1108 A.H. A history of the first five years of the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb (1658-62 A.D.). Ethe attributes (in Vol. I. P. 133) it to Aqil Khān Razi but Rieu (Vol. I. P. 265) ascribes to Mir Khān, Subedār of Kabul. The author writes from his personal knowledge and has given a vivid description of the wars among the sons of Shāhjahān for the throne of Delhi.

Lubb-ut-Tawārīkh:(ASB. Persian MS. No. 161) by Rāe Bindraban, son of Rāe Bharamal :

The writer says in the preface that in A.H. 1101, large territories having been added to the Empire by the arms of Aurangzeb, he conceived the project of writing a concise history of India with the object of recording the accession and conquests of that sovereign. His history up to the year A.H. 1000 is an abridgement of Firishta, with some additions from other sources down to the date. In the concluding lines the date of compilation is approximately conveyed by the chronogram as A.H. 1100 which however in two other copies is written as A.H. 1106. Some valuable information about the war of succession specially Shujā's war with Aurangzeb at Khajwa are available in this book.

Shāhjahān^nāma : by Muhammad Sādiq, entitled Sādiq Khān :

He was the news writer of Prince Shāhjahān in his campaign against the Rana (A.H. 1022) and that he proposed in this work to record briefly the events which he had witnessed from the prince's accession to his confinement. At the accession of Shāhjahān he was raised to the office of Bakhshi. He was then appointed tutor to Prince Shujā, whom he accompanied on his campaigns in the

Deccan and subsequently in Qandahār. In the 20th year he was appointed as Darghah of ghusalkhana and since then he was with Shāhjahān even after the defeat of Dārā and victory of Aurangzeb. So he gives some first hand information about Shujā and also about the war of succession (Rieu. I. 262). Partly translated by Elliot and Dowson in Vol. VII.

Dīwān-i-Saīd : (ASB. Persian MS., No. 771) by Muhammad Saīd Khān Qurayshi - apparently an Indian poet :

His 'Dīwān' was composed before 1661 in which year it was arranged and a fair copy of it was made by Mirzā Muhammad Baqā. A re-arrangement was made, not before 1664, by Alī Amjad. The author was attached to the Court of Princes Murād Bakhsh and Shāh Shujā. Bengal is often mentioned in Saīd's poems and it seems probably that he spent much of his time there. He was a religious man and probably belonged to the Chisti affiliation of the Sufis. There are many poems full of eulogies of princes Murād and Shujā.

Ādāb-i-Ālamgīrī : (J. N. Sarkār MS.No. 65 and 66) :

This collection of letters cover the period from November 26, 1649 to June 1659. The letters were written by Aurangzeb's Secretary Manshi-ul-mamalik, Abu-l-Fath (entitled Qabil Khān) a native of Thatta or lower-Sind. Some of the letters give information about the war of succession, specially Aurangzeb's war with Shujā.

Ruqqaat-ul-Hasan : (J. N. Sarkār MS. No. 8) :

Letters of Maulana Abu-l-Hasan, who was Secretary of the Governors of Orissa for nearly twelve years (1655-67 A.D.) and the letters were compiled in 1669-70 A.D. It gives casual references to the war of succession and throws

sufficient light on the political and economic condition of the province and the chaotic condition during the war of succession when Shujā withdrew his forces from most of the posts.

Akham-i-Ālamgīrī :

It was in the private collection of W. Irvine who later on gave it to Sir J. N. Sarkār. Sir Sarkār discovered a few more pages of this manuscript among some letters of Aurangzeb in the India Office library collection and he translated the entire work into English under the name 'Anecdotes of Aurangzeb'. It has been attributed to the pen of Hamid-ud-din Khān (Surnamed Nimchah-i-Ālamgīrī), but there is no proof and none of the MSS bears his name. It gives some important information about the war of succession.

Jāmiul-Inshā by Jalāluddin Tabātabāi : (B.M.O.R. 1702) :

This is the collection of letters. There are some letters written by the three younger sons of Shāhjahān, among themselves when they conspired against Dārā. These letters are very important and informative from which we get the causes of the war of succession, the role of the princes, dates of revolts etc.

Jaipur Records : (Raghubir Sinha, collection) :

Collection of letters in possession of Jaipur Darbar archives. These archives are veritable mine of raw materials for the history of Mughal India from the time of Shāhjahān to Muhammad Shāh. It is pre-eminently a discovery of Sir J. N. Sarkār who for the first time was allowed to inspect the archives and make copies of some letters therein. There are a good number of letters written by Emperor Shāhjahān and Dārā Shukoh to Mirzā Rājā Jai Singh. These letters throw much light on the war of Shujā against Sulaimān Shukoh and Jai Singh, attitude of Shāhjahān and Dārā towards the younger princes etc.

Faiyyāz-ul-Qawānīn : (J. N. Sarkār collection No. 83) :

A large number of miscellaneous letters (unpublished) of different ages including several letters of Aurangzeb to Murād and Shujā on the eve of the war of succession. These letters throw light on how the conspiracy was going on among the three younger princes against Dārā and the role of the individual princes.

Akhbarat : (J. N. Sarkār Collection No. 37) :

Official records of the Mughal Courts.

Udairāj Urf Taleyer : Haft Anjuman : J. N. Sarkār Collection No. 204.

Vaqa-i-Bangala, Bihār, Orissa, Cooch Bihār Wa Silhet : J. N. Sarkār collection No. 207.

Yusuf Alī Bin Ghulam Alīkhān : Haqat-us-Safa. Trans : in Calcutta Quarterly, 1826.

Abul Fazl : Ain-i-Akbarī : Trans. by Blochmann (Vol. I) and by Jarrett (Vol. II & III)
(Bib. Ind. Cal. 1868-94).
Akbarnama : Trans. H. Beveridge (Bib. Ind. Cal. 1897-1921).

Kanzalmaāni : In Praise of Shāh Shujā. MS. IV. ASB. 371-73.

Majmūa-i-Mukatabat : Letters of Aurangzeb, after his accession to Shujā. MS. V. ASB. 401.

Araid-o-faramin fi Mabain Shāhjahān Pādshāhī wa Muhammad Alamgīr : J. N. Sarkār collection No. 59.

Bhimsen : Nuskha-i-Dil Kasha :

An account of the ancestors of Rao Dalpat. It gives an account of the Mughal relation with Ahmadnagar and the happenings in the south during the illness

of Shāhjahān, Abridged translated by J. Scott in "History of the Deccan", Vol. II and in J. N. Sarkār's "Studies in Mughal India".

Chander Bhān : Chahār Chaman-i-Brahman : J. N. Sarkār collection No. 91.

Dīwān-i-Hindū (Bombay University Persian MS. No. 168) :

A contemporary literature in which there are some appreciations of Shujā.

Farz and Alī-ul-Husayni : Mulakhkhas-ut-Tawārīkh : Khudabakhash O.P.L. Persian MS. No. 141.

Guldasta : J. N. Sarkār collection No. 108.

Abul Hasan : Ruqqa'at-i-Hasan trans : J. N. Sarkār in "Studies in Aurangzeb's reign".

Karam Alī : Muzaffarnama : trans : J. N. Sarkār in BPP. 1947.

Mu'atad Khān : Shāhjahān-nāma : Khudabakhsh. O.P. library. Persian MS. No. 119.

Mirzā Nathan : Bahāristān-i-Ghaybi- trans : M.I. Borah.

Majmūa-i-Maktubat : ASB Persian MS. No. 359.

Md. Sādiq : Shāhid-i-Sādiq : Extract translated in JPNS.

Mutahmid Khān : Iqbal-nama-i-Jahāngīrī : Buhar Persian MS. No. 66.

Mirzā Abu Tālib : Dīwān-i-Kalim : Khudabakhsh. O.P. library, Persian MS. No. 314.

Some Farmāns, Sanads and Parwanas : Trans : K. K. Datta.

Ruqqaat-i-Ālamgīrī : Ed. Sayyed Najib Ashraf Nadvi, Azamgarh, 1930 :

Collection of letters of Shujā, Aurangzeb, Murād, etc.

Md. Tāhir : Shāhjahān-nāma : Khudabakhsh. O.P. library. Persian MS. No. 6.

Tālish Shihabuddin : Fathiyya-i-Ibriyya, Continuation : Partly translated in JASB, 1873 by Blockmann.

Md. Sādiq : Suba-i-Sādiq. ASB. Persian MS. No. 695.

Waki-at-i-Jahāngīrī : Trans : Elliot and Dowson. Vol. VII.

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Assamese

Assam Buranji from Dihingia Rājā to Pramatha Singh :

Published by Kāmrūp Anusilan Samity. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan published some extracts in J.I.H. Dec. 1926.

Kāmrūp Buranji :

A political history of Kāmrūp from the earliest times to 1682. Ed. Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in Assamese, discussed about the work in JIH.V. (1927). P. 379.

Pādshāh Buranji :

(a) Translated by Dr. S. K. Bhuyan from Persian to English in Islāmic culture, July 1927 - July 1929 under the title "New Lights on Mughal India from Assamese Sources". Value of this book discussed in Is.C. (1928) at pages 323, 540-1.

(b) Annals of Delhi Sultanate. Is.C. 1933-4. Later on published translation in the form of book under the title "Annals of the Delhi Sultanate". This book gives some information about the war of succession and Shujā's relation with Assam and Cooch Bihār, but the information is not always correct.

Assam Buranji :

A history of the Ahom Kings (1228-1696) B.K. VIII (1605-87) written in Assamese, found with the widow of Keshab Kanta at Gauhati. PP. 1-128, complete. It gives some light on Mughal-Assamese relations during the time of Shujā and the Assam attack during the war of succession.

Ahom Buranji from Khunlung and Khumlai :

It has been translated into English from the Ahom language in Assamese Government Secretariat in two volumes, trans. and edited by Rāi Shahib Golab Chandra Barua. It relates the history of Assam from the earliest time to the end of the Ahom rule, Calcutta, 1930. It also gives important information about Mughal-Assam relation and the attack of the Assamese during the war of succession.

Ahom Buranji :

(From Khunlung to Gadadhar Singha) found in the family of Sukumar Mahanta. This was edited by Rāi Shahib Dr. S. K. Bhuyan in 1945 (See JIH. Dec. 1926, P.379). It is valuable for Mughal-Assam relation.

Abu Burangohain and his times : trans : S. K. Bhuyan. Cal. 1930.

Asamer Padya Buran : trans. S. K. Bhuyan.

Buranji 1489-1663 : trans : H. C. Goswami.

Jayantia Buranji : S. K. Bhuyan.

Kachar Buranji : S. K. Bhuyan.

Lachit Bur Phukan and his times : Trans : S. K. Bhuyan.

Purani Assam Buranji : H. C. Goswami.

Tripura Buranji : Trans : S. K. Bhuyan.

Tungkhumgia Buranji : Trans : S. K. Bhuyan.

Assam Buranji (1648-87) :

A history of Assam from 1648 to 1681 A.D. and the events mentioned in chronological order, edited by S. K. Dutta in 1938. Text reproduced from : (i) an old Assamese chronicle from Jayadhwaj Singha Rudra Singha's Kachari wars, secured from the American Baptist Mission, Gauhati, (ii) obtained a transcript from Srijut Anandaram Gahain, Marigaon, Nowgong, (iii) obtained the Assamese Chronicle from Srijut Chidananda Bezbarua, Nazira, Sibsagar which states the history from Dihengia Rājā to Chandra Santa Singha.

Bengali

Hafta Payakar (in Bengali) by Sayyid Allawal :

Among the Muslim poets of medieval age he was well known and according to some he was the best of all. He was born at the end of 16th century in Chatgaon and after the death of his father, he went to Arakan and entered into the service of King Sandathudama. Within a short time his poetical and musical gifts were well circulated in the mualia aristrocratic society of Arakan. For no fault of his, he was thrown into prison for a short time as a result of the conspiracy of his rivals. Soon favoured by the high officials, he was set free and reinstalled in his original position. From his work are available the name of the Rājā, how Shujā was first received by the Rājā, Shujā's later conflict with the Rājā and his eventual predicament and tragedy.

Rājmālā by Kali Prasanna Sen (4 vols) :

This is the history of Tripura. From the third volume of this history we get the Mughal relation with Tripura and Shujā's attempt to conquer the country which was frustrated.

Alawal : Sayafulmulk Badiujjaman.

" Padmabat.

Krishnadas : Kalika Mongal. Sahitya Parishad MS. 2376.

Raya Mongal. Sahitya Parishad. MS. 2265.

Kalidas : Manasa Mongal. Sahitya Parishad MS. 1907.

Gopijanaballav Das : Rashik Mongol.

Munshi Jadunath Ghose : Rajopakkhan.

Aditya Chandra Chur : Jagannath Mongal. Sahitya Parishad MS. 174.

Ghose Bhawanidas : Radhabilash.

Roy Bhawani Prasad : Durgamongal. Sahitya Parishad. MS. 3259.

Bharat Chandra : Ananda Mongal.

Khan Muhammad : Muktal Husain.

Das Manohar : Anurag Ballavi. Sahitya Parishad. MS. 4139.

'Dwija' Kamallochan : Chandi Bijaya. Sahitya Parishad. MS. 3702.

Das Nanda Kishor : Rasapushpa Kalika.

Adak Ramdas : Dharma Mongal.

Ghose Rupnarayan : Durga Mongal. Sahitya Parishad. MS. 805.

Ruparam : Dharma Mongal. Edited by S. Sen, Calcutta, 1351.

Das Sitaram : Dharma Mongol. Sahitya Parishad. MS. 2562.

Khemadas (Ketakadas) : Manasa Mongal. Sahitya Parishad. MS. 1419.

Chakraborty Mukunda Ram : Kabi Kankar Chindi, Calcutta, 1370.

Hindi

Surajmal : Vamsa Bhaskar.

Lal Kavi : Chhatra Pakrash, Allahābād, 1916.

Ojha Gauri Shankar : Rājpūtānaka Itihas.

European Languages

French

Nicholas de Graaf :

Voyages and Index orientales" Nicholas de Graaf visited India during 1667-68 and gives detailed picture of Shujā's Palace at Rājmahal, description of the city and socio-economic condition of the people from Rājmahal to Monghyr.

Angola : Histoire Indienne nouV.

Law Jean : Memoire Surl' Empire Mogul. Ed. Martineau.

De Laet : "The Empire of the Great Mogal". Trans : J. S. Hoyland and S. N. Banerjee, Bombay, 1928.

Dutch

Vander Chijis J.A. : Dagh Register, Batávia (Haque transcripts), Vol. XVII.

De Laet John : Topography of the Mughal Empire, as known to the Dutch. Trans. E. Lethbridge.

Tieffenthler P.J. : Description historique et geographique de L' Indie.

Portuguese

Faria y Souza Manoel de : Asia Portuguesa. 3 Vols. Trans : Stevens. J.

English

Thevenot :

The travels of Monsieur de Thevenot into the Levant in three parts, translated into English in 1686. The third part covering 200 pages is devoted to the East Indies. He kept his journal till a few days before his death on November 8, 1667, at Mianna, about 30 leagues from Tourus in Asia Minor. One of the most informing of all European travellers in the East, specially valuable for notices of cities, towns, ports, customs, etc. Trans : S. N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949.

Bowrey :

A geographical account of countries round the Bay of Bengal, 1669-79, Edited with an introduction, notes and index by Lt. Col. Sir Richard Camac Temple. This book throws some light on Shujā's administration of Bengal and war of succession, London, 1905.

Peter Mundy :

He arrived at Sūrat in 1628 and in 1630 was appointed to the Agra factory. He stayed in India for eight years and during this period he visited a large number of towns in Mālwa, the modern United Provinces and Bihār. Unlike other foreign visitors to India he tried to observe accurately some of the peculiar socio-religious customs of the Hindūs. From his book descriptions of the marriages of Dārā and Shujā are available. Hakluyt. Vol. I, 1907; Vol. II, 1914; Vol. III, 1919; Vol. IV. 1924.

Sebastian Manrique :

He was a Portuguese from Oporto, came as a missionary to Bengal in 1629 and he remained for the next six years in Arakan. He spent three years (1637-40) in a long voyage to Philippines and China and again from 1640-41 he travelled through the northern India from Dācca to Qandahār, on his way to Europe. He was murdered in 1669. His book "Itanervario de las Missiones orientales, 1629-43" was translated and edited by Lt. Col. C. Eckford Luard and Father H. Hosten, S.J. Hakluyt, 1927. A major portion of his work is devoted to the description of Arakan. He has given a detailed account of the important towns of northern India and of the Mughal Court. He mentions the treacherous surrender of Qandahār by the Persian Governor, attempt of Persia to recover it and Shujā's marriage to the daughter of Mirzā Rustam Safvī.

Richard Bell and John Cambell :

"The travels of ..... in the East Indies, Persia and Palestine, 1654-70" was reproduced by Sir Richard Temple in the Indian Antiquery (1906-8) from the B. M. Sloane collection No. 811. According to the editor "Bell wrote down, from dictation, John Cambell's wonderful stories, which record facts

strangely distorted in the telling". He stated that Murād was the eldest son and Aurangzeb the youngest of Shāhjahān and the account of the war of succession is confused and unintelligible.

Bernier Francois :

(i) Travels in the Mughal Empire A.D. 1656-68 : translated and edited by (a) Irving Brook, Vol. I, 1826; (b) Archibald Constable, 1891, (c) V. A. Smith, Oxford, 1914. (ii) "History of the late rebellion" of the Empire of the great Mughal, translated by Irving Brook, Cal. 1826. Of all the European travellers who have recorded their impressions about the East, Bernier's account is most popular. He was highly educated and possessed an accurate sense of observation. During his long stay in India, he visited Lahore, Kashmīr, Rājmahal, Kashimbazar, Masulipatam and Golkonda. Valuable information is available in his books about the causes of the war of succession and the tragic end of Shujā and his family in Arakan.

Tavernier, Jean Baptista, Baron of Auborne :

(i) The six voyages through Turkey into Persia and East Indies for about forty years; trans : into English by J. Phillips, London, 1678. (ii) Travels in India, trans : and edited by V. Ball, 2 vols., 1889; 2nd edition by W. Crooke, 2 vols., Oxford, 1925. He had a fair knowledge of many European languages and his voyages in the East have made him famous in history. For the first time he visited India in 1640 and during the succeeding years he toured various parts of the country. He became a friend of Bernier and travelled to Bengal with him. He gives hints about the causes of the war of succession and also a graphic picture of the wars among the sons of Shāhjahān for the throne. He also stated the tragic fate of Shujā and his family in Arakan, but some of his informations are wrong, fantastic and illogical.

Manucci, Nicholai :

Storia do Mogor, 1653-1708, trans. and edited by Sir W. Irvine in 4 vols. (Indian text series), London, 1907-8. He was the most voluminous writer among the European travellers. At the age of 14 he left Venice and spent the rest of his life in the East specially in India. He had a working knowledge of Persian and Turkey which helped him to enter the service of Dārā. He was present at the battle field of Sāmūgarh from where he escaped and joined his master at Lahore. He refused to accept service under Aurangzeb and toured Bengal. For a few years he worked under Jai Singh in the Deccan but he resigned his post in 1666 and settled down at Lahore where he practised as a physician for seven or eight years. In 1678 he entered the service of Shāh Alam. He died in 1717. As he had been for a long time in Mughal Court, his informations are authentic and reliable. He throws a flood of light on the causes of the war of succession and gives a graphic description of all the wars. Though he was not personally present in the battle field of Khajwa but the details of the battle were communicated to him by Mirzā Jani, the Governor of Rājmahal and Muhammad Moghul, Governor of Hugli. He has also given in detail the fate of Shujā and his family in Arakan and the subsequent rumours about Shujā in India. He was more experienced and better informed than any other travellers and, as a result, his book is more useful as a source material.

The English Factories in India, 1618-69 by Sir W. Foster :

The East India Company factory records published in 13 vols. between 1906-27 and three supplementary volumes covering upto the period 1681. These volumes are valuable mines of information relating to Shujā's administration of Bengal and Orissa and his relation with the European traders, and about the

incidents of war of succession from the beginning till Shujā's flight from Bengal to Arakan, and about the fate of Shujā and his family in Arakan and so on. These informations are authentic and most impartial, as the factors did not belong to any party. Therefore the value of these documents is immense.

John Marshall in India :

Notes and observations in Bengal, 1668-72 Ed. by Shafaat Ahmad Khān, Allahābād universities studies, London, 1927. This book has some information about Shujā's administration of Bengal and the war of succession.

Master, Streynsham :

The diaries of ..... 1675-80 Ed. by Sir Richard Camac Temple, 2 Vols. (Indian record series), London, 1911. The writer has given some most important and authentic information about Shujā's administration of Bengal and Orissa, his relation with the European traders, the war of succession, etc. This is contemporary, almost impartial and of high value.

Hedges, William :

The diary of ..... This is the record of the writer's agency in Bengal as well as his voyages out and return overland, 1681-87, Edited by R. Barlow and Col. H. Yule, 3 vols. Hakluyt, 1887, 1888, 1890. This is valuable from the point of Shujā's administration of Bengal and his relation with the European traders.

Hamilton, Captain Alexander :

A new account of the East Indies, 2 vols., Edinbourgh, 1727, Ed. by Sir William Foster, 1930. This book supplies informations about Shujā's administration of Bengal and Orissa, his relation with the European traders and

some references about the war of succession.

Glanius :

A relation of an unfortunate voyage to the Kingdom of Bengala (originally printed in Amsterdam in 1681), London, 1682. This is an account of the ship wrecked Dutchman on board the Tershelling, 1661. In this book some references to Shujā's administration of Bengal, political condition of Bengal and war of succession are available.

Careri Gemelli. G. E. : Trans : by S. N. Sen, New Delhi, 1949 :

This book throws much light on the war of succession and Shujā's fate in Arakan.

Danvers, F. C. :

(i) Reports on records of Indian Office, 1888.

(ii) Reports on records relating to the East in the State Archives in Hague, (in type script) 2 vols., 1892.

(iii) Reports to the Secretary of State for India on Portuguese records relating to the East Indies contained in the Archivo da Torre do Tombe and public libraries at Lisbon and Evora, London, 1892.

English

Abbe Carre :

The travels of Abbe Carre in India and the near east, 1672-74, 3 vols. Trans : Lady Fowcett. Ed. Sir Charles Fawcett and Sir Richard Burn, London, 1948.

Bourdillion James :

Bengal under the Muhammadans. Bengal and Madras Papers - Imperial Record Departments, Calcutta, 1902.

Barbosa Duarte : The book of duarte Barbosa.

Cope, Captain : New history of East Indies, London, 1758.

Central Record Office : Selected documents of Shāhjahān's reign.

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Foster W. : Early Travellers in India, London, 1921.

Ferishta : History of the Deccan. Trans : J. Scott. 2 vols., 1794.

Ferishta : History of Hindūstan. Trans : A. Dow. 3 vols., London, 1768-72.

Fort William : Letters from Select Committee, 1500-1765.

Grey Edward : Travels of Pietro Della Valle in India.

Harri's Travels : 2 vols., London, 1764.

Historical Manuscript : Commissions : 12th Report.

Indian History Record Commission : Descriptive List of Historical Manuscripts.

Indian National Archives : Calender of Persian Correspondence.

Morse, H. B. : The Chronicles of E.I. Co. trading to China. Oxford, 1926-29.

Naseer-uddin Khan : Selected Documents of Shāhjahān's Reign.

Oaten, E. F. : European Travellers in India during 15th, 16th and 17th century, London, 1909.

Sainsbury, E. B. : Court Minutes of E.I. Co., Oxford, 1907-38.

Symes : Embassy to Ava. London, 1800.

Sarkār, J. N. : Studies in Aurangzeb's Reign, Calcutta, 1933.

Oleanius, Adem : Voyages and Travels ..... Trans : John Davis of Kidwelly, London, 1662.

Mandelslo, J. Albert De : The Voyages and Travels ..... in the East Indies. Trans : John Davies, [redacted], London, 1662. and also in Harris's travels vol. II

Supplementary Calender : These are the documents in India Office, London, relating to India or Home Affairs of the E.I. Co., 1600-1640. Ed. W. Foster, London, 1928.

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Parasnis, D. B. and Kincaid, C. A. : A History of the Marāthā People, London, 1931.

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Bakhsh Md. Faiz : Tarīkh-i-Farahbakhash. Trans : W. Hoey, Allahabad, 1887.

Farishta, M. Q : History of Hindostan. Trans : A. Dow. 3 vols.

Hamidulla : Tarīkh-i-Chātgāon.

Khān Khāfī : Muntakhab-ul-lubāb : Bibliography of Indica, 1874.

Kiwal Rām : Tāzkirat-ul-Umarā : ASB. Persian MS. 216.

Khān Shāh Nawaz : Maathir-ul-Umarā : Trans : Beveridge, H. Revised by Dr. B. Prasad, Vol. I., Cal. 1911-41.

Mulla Tughrā of Mashhad : Inshā-i-Tugha.

Muhammad Alī Khān Ansari : Tarīkh-i-Muzaffari : J. N. Sarkār collection No.152.

Ni'matulla : Makhzan Afgāni : Trans. Dorn.

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Salimullah : Tarīkh-i-Bangla. Trans : F. Gladwin, Cal., 1788.

Salīm Ghulam Husain : Riyāz-us-Salātin. Trans : A. Salīm. ASB., Cal., 1902.

Md. Hadi Kamwar Khān : Tāzkirat-us-Salātin-i-Chaghtāi, Buhar MS. 78.

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Tabātabāi Ghulam Husai : Siyar-ul-Muntakharin. Trans : Raymond, W. Haig.

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Ahmad Alī : Tawārīkh-i-Dācca.

Sayed K. B. : Tarīkh-Subah Bihār.

Hakim Habibur Rahman : Asudgan-i-Dhāka, Dācca.

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Lodh, Nabin Chandra : Noakhalir Itihas.

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